Music, Money, Memory and Cultural Identity:

An Oral History of the Misty Moon Show Bar

By

Charlene M. Boyce

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Approved:	Dr. Peter Twohig, Supervisor
Approved:	Dr. Nicole Neatby Internal Examiner
Approved:	Dr. Greg Marquis External Examiner
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Abstract

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The Misty Moon Show Bar was an iconic nightclub in Halifax that was open 1969-1994 and lives on in infamy, tied to a cultural identity of Halifax as a violent city of many bars. Interviews were undertaken with 13 narrators who worked at, were patrons of, or were musicians who played at the club, in order to establish an oral history and dig into the validity of this association. A thematic analysis establishes the community was linked through music, monetary benefits and shared experience. The report exposes the connections and care at the core of the collective identity, while looking at the ways that the Misty Moon is still collectively commemorated.

March 3, 2022

Acknowledgements

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Without my family, this would not have been possible. My husband, Todd Denton, has been my champion, my coach, my chef, my maid, my counsellor, and my steadfast caffeine supplier. I will spend the next fifty years expressing my gratitude—and doing my share of the chores! My daughter, Madeleine has been my study buddy, my comic relief, and my greatest joy. I love you, and I'm so proud of you.

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Thanks to COVID-19 for adding all the extra challenge of worldwide anxiety, archives lockdowns, and making research of the golden 70s and 80s an attractive place to escape to.

Finally, a special thank you to Jenny (Beattie) MacEachern who introduced me to the Misty Moon and instigated sufficient shenanigans to give me a full set of my own Moon memories.

Dedicated to the memory of my parents, Bill and Lillian Boyce; Scott Wood; George MacLellan; Carleton Smith; and Carlton Munroe.

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1.1 Introduction

Halifax needs to be written about.[1]

Home to the navy and six universities, Halifax has a long history as a hard-drinking town. Tales of drunken sailors from the days of yore still abound. Even today, with more pubs and bars per capita than any city in Canada, it is no wonder that Halifax is billed as a "drinker's paradise."[2]

If I've heard it once, I've heard it a thousand times: "Halifax has the most bars per capita of any city in Canada."[3]

Halifax is also well known for as [sic] a party city. For centuries Halifax built fame as a hard-drinking, hard-fighting sailors' town and the cities [sic] businesses have embraced this heritage. Pubs and bars and nightclubs (more pubs per capita than any other city in Canada!) line the historic downtown streets and offer a diverse array of tastes for everyone.[4]

"The classic example was the Misty Moon, especially when it was on Gottingen Street," remembers Makin. "Stabbings in washrooms, fights outside, aggressive doormen. Bouncers have been tossing patrons through doors, windows, etc. for a long time."[5]

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[1] Ted William Rutland. ""We are Damaged": Planning and Biopower in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1880-2010." (University of British Columbia, 2012), p.16

[2] Jack Florek. "Pick Your Poison." *Halifax Magazine*. (Halifax: Metro Guide Publishing, 2014).

[3] Tim Bousquet. Halifax Really Does Drink. *The Coast*. (Halifax, Coast Publishing, 2011).

[4] Canada Alive! A blog post from 2013, accessed October 21, 2021. https://canadaalive.wordpress.com/2013/02/12/halifax/

[5] Craig Pinhey. "Binge drinking, big fighting: Halifax drinkers get drunk and fight too much now. Not like the 1980s…" *The Coast*. (Halifax, Coast Publishing, 2008).

This thesis is an oral history of the Misty Moon Show Bar and examines the stories that persist in the collective memory of its patrons, employees and the musicians who played there and how these contribute to a particular characterization of Halifax as a "hard-drinking town". The thesis is based on a series of oral history interviews conducted in 2020-2021 as well as archival materials. Through my analysis of the interviews, I identified three significant themes, and have structured the thesis around the themes of music, money, and memory. The thesis takes Thompson's fourth approach to oral history analysis, reconstructive cross analysis,[6] comparing the collective history of those interviewed with other historical documents to arrive at insights into the cultural and social experience associated with the Misty Moon through its three locations and 24 years of existence. Insofar as this is as much about how the club is remembered today as it is about the past, this collective memory will also offer transitive insight into an aspect of the cultural identity of Halifax and how it has changed over time.

Why the history of one nightclub? In part this is answered by the notoriety and fame of the iconic business itself. The Misty Moon was Halifax's "rock bar" and its patrons and staff mostly shared a particular taste for loud live music and public drinking. The interviews point to a varied clientele, one that may have included representatives from many minority population groups - LGBTQ, African-Nova Scotian, and disabled persons - while being primarily composed of the city's dominant groups: white middle-class and working class people and students.

As with Toronto's Horseshoe Tavern and Vancouver's Penthouse, the Misty Moon Show Bar's arc of existence encompasses several notable milestones in the social history of its home city. Also in common with those venues, the bar was nationally known, and it developed an

[6] Paul Thompson. *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd ed. (Oxford England, Oxford University Press, 2000).

outsized reputation, both in notoriety and in terms of attracting the biggest name performers. Its reputation persists. In any crowd in Halifax of a certain age[7], mentioning the name "Misty Moon" serves as a mnemonic device to evoke nostalgia for a moment of reckless youth when Halifax was reputed to be awash in bars, booze and vice.

Halifax had a conflicted public reputation over the last quarter of the twentieth century. Alan Edmonds, in the January 1, 1970 edition of *Macleans* reported, in an article titled "The Charge of the Haligonians": "...they're all in on it - the socialist mayor, the art nouveau students, the highrise millionaire, the crusading newsman, the Soul people, the campus innovators and 250,000 others who wouldn't quite fit into the picture above. Suddenly, Halifax, where everybody comes from, is a place to go to."[8]

Contrast this with a 2017 Halifax Magazine article, wherein Harry Bruce writes: "Remembering a visit in the early '80s, Newfoundland actress Cathy Jones said she once called it, "Halifax: City of the Living Dead… We thought of it as horrible: dull, uptight, racist, boring, redneck."" Bruce himself calls Halifax of 1971, "a stodgy provincial town," describes it as rife with religious discrimination, sexism, and homophobia. Bruce recalls, "Its roughly 260,000 people included a small contingent of kicked-around blacks, but nearly all the others were descendants of settlers from the British Isles who arrived generations ago. They were overwhelmingly dominant, thank you very much, and seemingly content with that."[9]

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[7] Since the bar was known as The Roxbury in 1994, this would encompass Haligonians aged 46 and up, though the reaction is more predictable among those aged 52 and up who would recall the "golden age" of the bar, which I would typify as 1974-1988.

[8] Alan Edmonds. "The Charge of the Haligonians." *Macleans. (*1970). pp.24-29

[9] Harry Bruce. "Not the city I knew." *Halifax Magazine*. (Halifax: Metroguide Publishing, 2017). Accessed via The Wayback Machine, October 25, 2021. web.archive.org/web/20170124063234/http://halifaxmag.com/features/opinions/not-the-city-i-knew/

The Misty Moon patrons sit between the polarity of these two versions of Halifax, removed only a decade in time from each other, and yet inhabiting opposite ends of a spectrum. Is Halifax a rowdy, provincial working class port city or a diverse centre of cosmopolitan culture and industry? Wartime Halifax is recalled as a patriotic centre, awash in troops, proudly supporting the war effort. But it was also the stage for the 1945 riot staged by war-weary soldiers whose superior officers failed to adequately recognize the troops' need to celebrate and buy drinks.[10] Halifax was *Macleans'* groovy, progressive beacon, and also the moral scold of the Rev. David Hartry, who, in a June 7 front page story in the *Mail-Star*, bemoaned that hosting the 1969 Canada Games would make Halifax a "haven for hippies."[11]

Halifax's conflicted identity informed the city's commitment to the urban renewal movement in the 1950s that led to the Stephenson Report, which proposed strategies for various issues facing the city, including plans to solve a profound housing crisis, 'clean up' slums and modernize the city. The racial and class bias in the report went unexamined, helping to support later developments such as the destruction of Africville, an action that exacerbated racial strife and caused generational trauma to African Nova Scotians. The city's dichotomous identity can be recognized in the impassioned defense of the "viewplanes" from the Halifax Citadel by the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, and the counter arguments in favour of modernizing the city's built environment; the branding the city selected in 2014, typifying it as "bold" (and the subsequent reception of this branding);[12] and, in spite of the presence of high culture such as the

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[10] Stephen Kimber. *Sailors, slackers, and blind pigs: Halifax at war.* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2002).

[11] Halifax Haven for Hippies. *The Mail-Star.* (1969). p.1

[12] CBC News. "Here's Halifax's 'bold' new logo." CBC. (Halifax: CBC, 2014). https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/here-s-halifax-s-bold-new-logo-1.2611387. These pieces from *the Coast* give an idea of the backlash: www.thecoast.ca/halifax/is-this-what-being-bold-is-really-

Atlantic Symphony Orchestra (which became Symphony Nova Scotia in 1983) and Neptune Theatre, the reputation the city harboured for much of the late 20th century as a "drinking town" overflowing with bars, music, and vice. It is this last piece of cultural veneer, entangled as it is with the Misty Moon, which I hope this thesis offers insights into: this reputation that still lingers in the public imagination.

1.2 Literature Review

Despite the anecdotal claim that Halifax had, at one point, "the most bars per capita in Canada," published academic work relating to drinking or nightclubs in Halifax is sparse. George Rigakos has published a number of articles and studies on nightclubs in the context of violence and bouncers, as well as the book *Nightclub: Bouncers, Risk and the Spectacle of Consumption*[13], which is based primarily on data collected at six unnamed nightclubs in Halifax between 2001 and 2002. In 2016, Cameron Emond referenced Rigakos in his Honours Criminology thesis, Stairway of Doom, in which he interviewed Halifax bouncers.[14] In 2012, Graeme Buffet's planning thesis titled "Challenges Facing Music Venues in Halifax*"* discussed, among other venues, bars that hosted live music. Jeremy Hall wrote a business case based on JJ Rossy's and Peddler's Pub in 1995.

about/Content?oid=4514931, www.thecoast.ca/halifax/qanda-phil-otto-says-stop-being-assholes/Content?oid=4385206,

[13] George Rigakos, *Nightclub: Bouncers, Risk and the Spectacle of Consumption.* (Montréal Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008)

[14] Cameron Emond. "The Stairway of Doom: Respect, Crime, and Justice in the Nighttime Economy." (honours criminology thesis, SMU, 2016). https://library2.smu.ca/handle/01/26488.

Less academic but well-researched, Rebecca Rose's excellent *Before the Parade* details some of the history of The Turret/Khyber, Rumours and Reflections in the context of the history of Halifax's LGBTQ2S+ community. Josh O'Kane's "Nowhere with You" traces the career of Joel Plaskett and the rise of indie music in Halifax in the early 90s, in the process touching on music venues. Greg Nepean's 2004 thesis, "It's All Glamour… "The Halifax Drag Community: A Study of Identity, Community and Region"" includes a section examining bars in Halifax that featured drag shows.[15]

Outside this region, storied Canadian bars the Horseshoe Tavern in Toronto and the Penthouse in Vancouver have each had a nostalgic book written documenting the respective club's history. DeLottinville's "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889" examined the tavern's role in the life of blue-collar workers.

Many nightclub articles and books specifically tie a venue to its role with regard to a particular ethnographic group, such as Christine Feldman-Barrett's excellent *Medusa's on Sheffield, 1983-1992: Chicago's Alternative All-Ages Nightclub in History and Memory* (2018)[16]. Duncan's *The Rebel Cafe* (2018) looked at the bars, coffee houses and clubs that

[15] Greg Nepean. "It's All Glamour… "The Halifax Drag Community: A Study of Identity, Community & Region"" (master's thesis, SMU, 2004). library2.smu.ca/handle/01/22358.

[16] Christine Feldman-Barrett. "Medusa's on Sheffield, 1983-1992: Chicago's Alternative All-Ages Nightclub in History and Memory." *Popular Music and Society* Vol. 41, No. 3, 319–338 (Routledge, 2018).

influenced the Beat generation. New York's storied nightclubs Studio 54[17] and CBGB[18] have been analysed for their roles in the disco and underground punk scenes respectively. In *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital* (1996), Sarah Thornton looks at the kinds of culture developed in nightclubs. The book centres on clubs of a later vintage, but offers academic and historical perspective on the development of club culture, varieties of authenticity, the notion of *mainstream*, and related concepts.

So much for the literature around bars and nightclubs; but regarding drinking, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century, there is a wider field. There is a rich body of historical work on prohibition, the temperance movement and the role of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and "rum running" including Forbes "Prohibition and the Social Gospel"[19] and *Tempered by Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces* (James H. Morrison and

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[17] The definitive statement on Studio 54 might be Anthony Haden-Guest's *The Last Party: Studio 54, Disco, and the Culture of the Night*. Tim Lawrence's 2011 article "Disco and the Queering of the Dance Floor" is less enthusiastic, calling the club hierarchical and commercial. Studio 54 has also proven a popular thesis and dissertation topic around varied themes of elitism, feminism, and urbanism: see Diana Mankowsi's "Gendering the Disco Inferno: Sexual Revolution, Liberation, and Popular Culture in 1970s America." Alison Baird's 2019 "If You're on The Outside, You're In: The Infamous Red Velvet Rope Culture at Studio 54" Elizabeth Matassa's 2003 dissertation "From the Cracks in the Sidewalks of N.Y.C.: The Embodied Production of Urban Decline, Survival, and Renewal in New York's Fiscal Crisis Era Streets, 1977- 1983."

[18] Steven Lee Beeber's 2006 book *Heebie-Jeebies at CBGB's: A Secret History of Jewish Punk* is a good starting point; Duncan Wheeler describes CBGB's influence on Spanish punk movement La Movida in his 2018 article, "You've Got to Fight for Your Right to Party? Spanish Punk Rockers and Democratic Values" in the journal Popular Music and Society. The entertaining groupie memoir, *CBGB was my high school: a rose comes of age on the razor's edge* by Gina Stritch exposes another side of the punk underground.

[19] E.R. Forbes. "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia." *Acadiensis* (Fredericton, 1971) 1, no. 1: 11-36.

James Moreira, Eds).[20] Canadian social historian Judith Fingard has sections on alcohol and/or drinking in two of her books, *Jack in Port* and *Dark Side*. In "A Reluctant Concession to Modernity", Greg Marquis offers an essential reference for the post-war history of bars, drinking, and liquor laws in the Atlantic Provinces. The article provides a structure of context for bars, public drinking and attitudes towards these in the Maritimes.[21]

The proceedings of a 1984 symposium on public drinking and public policy provided an opportunity to sample the flavour of the contemporary discourse, moral panics and areas of academic interest.[22] It offered a window into the role observational studies played in much of the research around public drinking, and hints at other research that was done in Halifax at the time, which is seemingly lost to time or publishing challenges. Other works focused on public drinking such as Craig Heron's *Booze* and Andrew Barr's *Drink* provided ample context if less directly relevant insight.

As I employed oral history interviews, the foundational *Handbook of Oral History* (Charlton Myers and Sharpless), and Paul Thompson's *Voice of the Past* were essential.[23] The Handbook purports that there are two types of oral history -- it is particular, direct testimony about an event or situation, or the views "of a particular actor from a particular community at a

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[20] James H. Morrison and Moreira, James. *Tempered by Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces.* (Porters Lake, N.S.: Pottersfield Press, 1988).

[21] Greg Marquis. ""A Reluctant Concession to Modernity": Alcohol and Modernization in the Maritimes, 1945-1980." *Acadiensis* 32, no.2 (2003): 31-59.

[22] Eric Single, Thomas Storm, & Addiction Research Foundation, of Ontario. *Public Drinking & Public Policy: Proceedings of a Symposium on Observation Studies Held at Banff, Alberta, Canada, April 26-28, 1984.* (Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation), 1985.

[23] Paul Thompson. *The Voice of the Past.*

set time."[24] Both varieties of evidence appear herein, but the latter offers insight into cultural or social experience, and this thesis will call on those insights.

The *Handbook of Oral History* offers a comprehensive overview of some of the unique qualities of the field. In creating an oral history, the historian is creating a primary resource. Oral history establishes a relationship between the interviewer and interviewee[25] and, particularly where a number of interviews are conducted in order to tell the story of an event or place, the historian is responsible for creating the record; the audio record(s) which capture nuance of language use, inflection, accent and other social cues; the transcriptions which render the interview(s) much more useful for other researchers and storage; and the analysis that creates sense from the collected memories.

The Handbook, along with course materials from Baylor University's Oral History Certificate,[26] guided decisions around production, metadata collection, and care for sound quality.

The Handbook examines in-depth "the dialectic relationship between myth and history," which are generally cast in the light of large historical movements like wars, slavery, and national character. To say the Misty Moon has come to occupy a place of myth feels grandiose in comparison to this scale. And yet, there are aspects that can be drawn from the stories which feel mythic, or at least constitute legend.

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[24] Thomas Lee Charlton, Lois E. Myers, and Rebecca Sharpless. *Handbook of Oral History.* (Lanham, MD; Toronto: Altamira Press), 2006.

[25] In this work, I will use "interviewee", "narrator" and "participant" interchangeably to refer to those who shared their stories with me. I most often use "narrator", which is the term usually used by oral historians.

[26] Getting Started with Oral History E-Learning Workshop, Baylor University Institute of Oral History. Course undertaken in winter, 2020. https://www.baylor.edu/library/index.php?id=974458

The *Handbook of Oral History* and *Voices of the Past* contribute to a discussion of memory. The Handbook distils contributions made by Ebbinghaus (the curve of forgetting), Bartlett's 'schemata', Schacter's seven sins of memory, and Linton's conditions under which memories persist, as described in Neisser. It is Neisser who connects personal experience / episodic memory with personal life narratives, which then, woven together with semantic memories, form the basis of social memory. The Handbook and *Voices of the Past* both examine validity and reliability of memory. These considerations underlie my examination of my narrators' experience of remembering and what their collective memory might indicate.

Sheftel and Zembrzycki's "Who's Afraid of Oral History? Fifty Years of Debates and Anxiety about Ethics" helped inform my reflections on my interviews, acknowledging the awesome responsibility give to the interviewer when someone gives you their stories.[27] Beginning with *Voices of Collective Remembering*[28] and Neatby and Hodgin's *Settling and Unsettling Memories*, I traced the concept of collective memory back to Halbwachs, and from there discovered Jan Assman and John Czaplicka, who married the concepts of Collective Memory and Cultural Identity (1995).

1.3 Approach and Methods

While primarily grounded in the discipline of history, this is an interdisciplinary work, and I employ narrative research methods, analysing with frameworks primarily associated with

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[27] Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zembrzycki. "Who's Afraid of Oral History? Fifty Years of Debates and Anxiety about Ethics." *The Oral history review* 43, no. 2 (2016). pp.338-366.

[28] James V. Wertsch.*Voices of Collective Remembering*. (Cambridge, U.K; New York : Cambridge University Press), 2002.

oral and public history. Parts of the narratives deal with crime, urban planning, psychology and with business management and business history, and it must be acknowledged that scholars in these disciplines would approach and treat these subjects differently.

I used oral history methodology in collecting my interviews and then conducted a critical narrative analysis to determine themes.

There is lively social media discussion around people's memories of the Misty Moon. One might assume that this would make a convenient sample from which to draw interviews. However, this process proved more difficult than that. In finding and selecting interviewees, I approached the process with an informal matrix, a process suggested in the *Handbook of Oral History*. I wanted voices representing all three locations; ideally I would have staff, patrons and musicians, and perhaps a journalist or police officer for an outsider perspective; and I sought to ensure racial and gender diversity as well. I found my narrators first through recruiting via the Facebook groups, *Fans of the Misty Moon* and *Gottingen St. Neighbourhood*, 1940-2021. Once I began interviewing, I employed some snowball sampling, as most narrators, in particular the staff members, suggested several others to contact. The *Handbook of Oral History* notes this is less statistically based, but with the goal of locating and ascertaining collective memory and identity in this project, based in grounded theory, it was appropriate. Several others were volunteers who offered stories upon hearing the topic of my thesis. It proved especially challenging to find patrons to interview; while many patrons had one-off anecdotes they would happily share on social media, many I contacted demurred at the idea of a formal interview.[29]

[29] I designed the project around the idea of longer, in-depth interviews, with open-ended questions. I chose not to analyze the shorter anecdotes that were posted to social media although these could also form the basis of an interesting project.

The culture shift at the Misty Moon over time (the community becoming less tightly connected) made snowball sampling for the later years challenging. The police officer I interviewed I found through a personal connection. The thirteen interviews were conducted over about nine months.[30]

The unique circumstances of conducting this research during the COVID-19 pandemic dictated that more of my interviews than I might have wished took place by telephone. I employed a Zoom H1n Recorder for all the interviews and used Otter software to begin the process of transcribing.

One narrator, Ron Bone, took part in two interviews, having a second narrator with him at each -- Gay Kennedy and Paul Eisan. Having two narrators in an interview introduced challenges in hearing both voices equally and difficulties in transcribing. However, this allowed an interplay that provoked more memory flow (and more digressions), and was requested by the narrators. One of these interviewees, Paul Eisan, suffers noted and acknowledged memory loss. Having Bone present helped prompt more memories from him.

With two narrators, I found myself conducting a much more traditional interview, to draw out responses, on account of their lack of verbosity. And with one narrator, the interview became more of a conversation. Some of these challenges were because I am still learning the craft of oral history interviewing and others were simply unavoidable.

A fourteenth narrator intrudes from time to time: me. In the years 1988-1990, I frequented the Misty Moon and have my own personal memories of the bar and the staff at the time. This commonality helped establish trust with my narrators, although I tried to minimize the number of times I inserted my own experience into their stories. In oral history, the interviews

[30] Mary A. Larson. “Research Design and Strategies.” *Handbook of Oral History.* P.123-125

are necessarily a dialogue, whether the interviewer is responding verbally or nonverbally, and it is an acknowledged aspect of the practice that an interviewer enters a relationship with the narrator. My occasional sharing of personal experience was intended to elicit further memory from my narrators.

Oral history ethics warns of potential power imbalances, but I do not feel that was reflected in my experience in this thesis. It was necessary to translate academic language and concepts from time to time to narrators without experience in higher education. This knowledge imbalance was recentred by the respect and care I, as the interviewer, felt and tried to demonstrate for the narrators' lived experience and knowledge. The primary bias I detected in myself was a tendency to be enthralled; I often felt I was hanging out with "the cool kids" and my objectivity may thus have suffered from time to time. Did I ask the necessary probing follow ups to get at a true narrative? In some cases, I have missed opportunities to clarify or learn more. I approached the interviewing process, as a long-time citizen of this city experienced in and connected with its downtown life, with a particular set of ideas about the Misty Moon and what I would hear. To the best of my abilities, I kept my mind open to what might be revealed, however; and the process of recording, relistening and transcribing offered ample opportunity to listen and reflect more deeply.

Reflecting on the interviewing process, the interpersonal relationship that emerged might be typified as shallow, but I carry a duty of care. Having invested in this relationship, I feel an overwhelming sense of responsibility to do these stories justice and honour the gift the narrators have given.

I have listed all of the narrators in Table 1, along with details of the interview and the nature of their relationship to the Misty Moon. Not included is Andy Panagiotakos, one of the

original owners, who provided me with a written statement. Because I did not have the opportunity to interview Mr. Panagiotakos directly, I will not refer to him as a narrator, but will reference this statement.

Beginning with the substance of the interviews with thirteen narrators and the statement from Andy Panagiotakos, I analysed the responses for common themes and stories, with the goal of assembling a collective memory that would capture elements of an authentic history of the club and its community.

Table 1: **Chart of Narrators**

	Interviewee	Role/ Relationship to the MM	Details
1	Norma MacNeil	Server, worked at three locations	May 26, 2020 8:30 - 9:30 pm by telephone
2	Ron Bone	Doorman and server, also worked with musicians; worked at three locations	May 28, 2020, 6:45-10 pm Face to face interview Held at Ron Bone's residence in Sackville (Four part recording)
3	Gay Kennedy	Server worked at three locations	
4	Allie Fineberg	Server worked at three locations	June 13, 2020: Face to face interview Held at Allie's shop on South Barrington Street, Halifax
5	Geoff Palmeter	Manager & then owner, 1986-1992, Barrington Street	June 15, 2020, 4 pm By telephone
6	Hazel Ferguson	Coat check, worked at Barrington	June 15, 2020 By telephone
7	Paul Eisan (with Ron Bone) *interviewer's husband, Todd Denton, also present.	Singer, musician: Spice, Chalice, Fast Forward, etc, played at 3 locations	August 2, 2020 Face to face interview Held at Paul Eisan's house in Petpeswick (Two part recording)
8	Bill Hollis	Police sergeant, HPD	August 20, 2020, by telephone *Follow up*: February 25, 2021, by telephone
9	Wendy Brookhouse	Doorperson, Barrington	November 1, 2020 Face to face interview Held outside of Starbucks, Hydrostone, Halifax
10	Sam Moon	Musician, played at 3 locations	February 11, 2021 By telephone
11	Eric McDow	Musician, Spice; played at 3 locations. Band booking agent.	February 27, 2021 Face to face interview Held at Bedford Basin Market and Cafe
12	Scott Rogers	Musician, Rox	February 28, 2021 Face to face interview Held at my home, Clayton Park,

			Halifax
13	Missy Searl	Patron	March 1, 2021, by telephone

With the themes identified, I looked at selected relevant archival evidence around the three themes of music, money, and memory. An additional alliterative element necessary to any history of the Misty Moon is "murder"[31], and the story of the 1979 crime that occurred in the men's bathroom came to me from five narrators.

The narrators I spoke with mostly remain part of a web of community forged at the Misty Moon. In 2012, they set up a Facebook page (1483 followers as of August 2021) and a private Facebook discussion group (1979 members as of August 2021), in which hundreds of Haligonians and others have shared memories and affection for the Misty Moon. In 2016, they assembled and hosted a reunion in Dartmouth, attracting staff, musicians and patrons from the bar's various locations over the years.

Comparing the stories of the narrators, and understanding their connections with each other, led me to explore the notions of collective memory and how this relates to cultural identity.

Feldman-Barrett notes, in Medusa's on Sheffield:

> Though people's memories of the past (and their youth, in particular) are often tinged with nostalgia, these recollections nonetheless help reconstruct past phenomena that may otherwise remain undocumented. As Catherine Strong suggests, it is the meaning-making of such memories that matters (420). Thus, as with most oral histories, this narrative is as

[31] Once could make a case for yet another alliterative theme with "Michael MacDonald" since the infamous "Night the Doobies Played the Moon" is the other most cited story amongst the narrators.

> much about how Medusa's is remembered today as it is an attempt to construct a cultural history of the venue and its scene.[32]

This is what I have set out to achieve also.

Assman and Czaplicka typify Halbwachs' collective memory as "communicative memory," and firmly ground oral history therein. This "communicative memory" deals with actual memories in the span of a lifetime, with a horizon, they estimate, of 80 to 100 years maximum. Where Halbwach claims that collective memory beyond this verges into what he terms "history", Assman and Czaplicka claim a third option: cultural memory. "Cultural memory has its fixed point; its horizon does not change with the passing of time. These fixed points are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication."[33] The narrator's memories bring forth several of these "fixed points".

1.4 Background: The Urban Context.

In the latter part of the 20th century, Halifax experienced many of the sweeping changes affecting the rest of North America, including suburbanization, changes in industry and economy, and social changes. The shape of the city was expanding and changing based on national trends like the growing preference for cars as the primary form of transportation, and a sharp need for more housing in general, and affordable housing in particular. The baby boom generation's ubiquitous touch affected almost all aspects of life.

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[32] Feldman-Barrett, Medusa's. p.320

[33] Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." New German Critique 65, no. 65 (1995): 125-133. doi:10.2307/488538. p.129

Nathan Roth and Jill Grant's "Story of a Commercial Street" describes the history of Gottingen Street in Halifax's North End, which is the street where the original Misty Moon was located. This article lays out the post-war to 1960s period in Halifax very effectively, describing the convergence of national funding for much-needed affordable housing with the city's desire to clean up its "slums." There was also throughout the 1960s a movement of population to the suburbs, which was raising the concerns of City Hall. This convergence led to the 1957 Stephenson report that conflated rundown neighbourhoods in the city centre with moral decay, a situation which the city's aldermen agreed was likely contributing to the decline of Halifax's downtown.[34]

The 'urban renewal' movement may have promised a return to Gottingen's heyday in the '40s and '50s as a commercial centre, but the ultimate effect was to cleave Gottingen from Halifax's downtown, and hasten the departure of residents from the area. In 1969, the city annexed the suburban neighbourhoods of Rockingham, Clayton Park, Fairview, Armdale, and Spryfield, adding about 35,000 people to its population and barely inching past Saint John to become the largest city in the Maritimes.[35]

Africville was a community located on the waterfront at the north part of the peninsula of Halifax, as far back as 1848[36]. Over time, the city not only refused to add reasonable amenities

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[34] Nathan Roth and Jill L. Grant. "The Story of a Commercial Street: Growth, Decline, and Gentrification on Gottingen Street, Halifax" *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine,* Volume 43, Issue 2 (Spring 2015), p. 38–53

[35] L.D. McCann. "Halifax." *Canadian Encyclopedia*., last modified March 7, 2019, accessed November 15, 2019, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/halifax.

[36] Matthew McRae. "The story of Africville." *Canadian Museum of Human Rights.* Accessed September 30, 2021. https://humanrights.ca/story/the-story-of-africville.

(sewage, clean water, garbage disposal), it also co-located developments that contributed to the perception of the area as a "slum", including a dump, an infectious diseases hospital and a prison. The Stephenson Report provided a tool for the city to claim it was time address these appalling conditions facing its Black citizens. In *Razing Africville*, Jennifer Nelson examines destruction of Africville as part of a historical context that othered and segregated Blackness, delegitimatized valid claims to land, and defined space in colonialist, racist terms.[37] Halifax wanted the Africville land for infrastructure and industry, and applying a paternalistic logic couched in the language of human rights, they used the Stephenson report as justification to force the residents to move.[38] In the mid-60s, Africville's residents were relocated and the area was razed (usually, but not always, in that order). Many residents were moved to public housing built at Uniacke Square, on Gottingen Street.[39] The area around Gottingen had been a neighbourhood with many Black residents before this. In the years following the relocation, residents' socio-economic status dropped noticeably. From Roth and Grant,

> Clearance and redevelopment of the CRA had significant implications for the vitality of the Gottingen neighbourhood. Residents displaced by downtown clearing generally moved far from Gottingen Street, but Halifax used federal funds to build new public housing complexes to house some of those displaced. Mulgrave Park opened well north of Gottingen's commercial corridor in 1962. [...] Urban renewal funding provided the means for transforming the area: in the political context of the times, the North End was

[37] Jennifer Nelson. *Razing Africville.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto. 2008.

[38] Matthew McRae. "The Story of Africville."

[39] Marcus Paterson. *Slum Clearance in Halifax: The Role of Gordon Stephenson*. (Halifax: Dalhousie University), 2009.

identified as an appropriate location for housing lower income (and often African Nova Scotian) residents at higher densities.[40]

Urban renewal continued into the ’70s. Streetcars had stopped running decades before, and the last electric trolleybus would complete its run in the early hours of January 1, 1970. Halifax Transit, a new bus service, started up in 1970[41] but in spite of this, individual cars were the principal consideration for transportation updates, and a freeway was planned to run along the city’s waterfront. Roth and Grant note, “The Cogswell Interchange, completed in 1973 to control traffic in and out of downtown, was the first phase of freeway implementation.[42]” The Cogswell Interchange was a convoluted concrete structure that would be inserted between Gottingen and the main downtown area around Barrington Street. The freeway project was aborted but the Cogswell Interchange remained, introducing a physical and psychological barrier to fluid traffic between Gottingen Street and downtown. On Barrington Street, just inside the downtown area bounded by the Interchange, a new mall, Scotia Square, was built in a site that had been cleared as a “slum.” The shopping centre, hailed as a bright, modern addition to Halifax that would revitalize the area and an answer to suburban malls, was another lure away from Gottingen Street. Meanwhile, as a concession to forces pushing for historic preservation, Historic Properties was established just a few short blocks away.

These changes over time in the Gottingen area may have fostered conditions conducive to nightclubs. In 1969, several large nightclubs were located on or near Gottingen Street, including

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[40] Roth and Grant, The Story of a Commercial Street. pp.45-46

[41] David A. Wyatt. The All-Time List of Canadian Transit Systems: Halifax, Nova Scotia. Last modified October 29, 2016. home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~wyatt/alltime/halifax-ns.html

[42] Roth and Grant, The Story of a Commercial Street

the Derby (which had been around since before 1960), the venerable Lobster Trap (which moved to the Trade Mart building from Inglis Street some time in the 1960s), the El Strato Lounge, and the new Misty Moon Show Bar.

In 1969, Nova Scotia's drinking age was 21. It was lowered to 19 in 1971. According to Greg Marquis, young people in Nova Scotia chose alcohol more often than marijuana[43] and, unlike past generations, preferred to drink in public, that is, in bars.[44] Through the period from 1969 to 1995, the image of Halifax as the home of Canada's "most bars per capita" would emerge. That impression would be reinforced for tourists and visitors due to city zoning policy that tended to cluster bars in the downtown[45]. Literature around the night time economy demonstrates that a healthy bar business may mean increased employment, tourism and revenue, but it also means increased noise, violence and crime, from vandalism to assault.

Through the 1970s and the 1980s, the economy in the region grew. Dan Soucoup traced some of the primary reasons in his *A Short History of Halifax*. In 1970, the Halifax International Container Terminal opened, and the Fairview Terminal followed soon after, ensuring Halifax's place as Canada's major eastern port. Oil and gas were discovered off Sable Island, and optimism soared. 1985's Atlantic Accord between the Canadian government and Newfoundland and Labrador fostered more offshore activity, and Halifax was well-placed to benefit.[46]

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[43] Marquis, *A Reluctant Concession.*

[44] Reginald George Smart and Alan C. Ogborne. 1986. *Northern Spirits: Drinking in Canada, Then and Now.* Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation.

[45] Sarah Dube. *The Master Plan for the City of Halifax 1945: its origin and impact*. [cited September 30, 2021]. Available from http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/_pdf/history/sdube_masterplan_2015.pdf.

[46] Dan Soucoup. A Short History of Halifax. (Halifax, Nova Scotia : Nimbus Publishing Ltd), 2014.pp.106-113

The Waterfront Development Corporation was founded in 1976 and undertook work to make the waterfront more attractive, improving the experience of downtown for locals and tourists alike with sites like Chebucto Landing, Tall Ships Quay and the boardwalk. The Nova Scotia College of Art and Design moved downtown from the west end and the infusion of students was noticeable. With growing numbers of students at Halifax's universities, the leisure and night-time economies grew: the music scene thrived, and the city was home to art galleries, cinemas, and more bookstores per capita than other Canadian cities.[47]

As the population grew, other cultural shifts were happening. Rebecca Rose traces the earliest signs of Halifax's gay rights movement in her book, *Before the Parade: A History of Halifax's Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Communities*. In 1972, GAE, the Gay Alliance for Equality, the first gay rights organization in Halifax, was founded. Anne Fulton, a founding member, offered a list of the city's first gay bars, which were a guarded secret: Club 777, Thee Klub, Granville Lunch and PJ's Fast Food. In 1977, Chris Shepherd, a Black gay activist, was told to leave the Jury Room bar, located in the Carleton Hotel in downtown Halifax. Shepherd refused and spent the night in jail. The incident was covered by media and led to pickets, more incidents and ultimately a boycott of the bar. The incident raised awareness of the prejudice and discrimination faced by gay people. By the end of the 1970s, the Turret was founded, an openly gay establishment, although discrimination and gay bashing continued throughout the rest of the century and beyond. [48]

By the 1980s, larger retail had fled Barrington Street. Quinpool Road and Spring Garden Road drew some of the business, but many businesses moved to malls in the developing

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47 Ibid.pp114-116

[48] Rose, Rebecca. *Before the Parade*. (Halifax: Nimbus), 2019.

suburban locations on the fringes of the city. As on Gottingen before it, Barrington Street and other nearby streets in the downtown core saw some of the vacated spaces filled in with bars and taverns.

By the 1990s, Gottingen Street, rechristened by many “gotta-get-a-gun”, would be described as one of Halifax’s most feared streets.[49] Racial strife continued to affect Halifax, coming to a fever pitch in the late ’80s and early ‘90s. In the summer of 1991, race-based violence flared up. One night, a riot of 150 people fought in the streets of Halifax, in part a reaction to racist policy at some nightclubs. The following night, what *Macleans* called “a plank-swinging melee” erupted. A month later, about 1000 people, Black and white, marched in active protest,[50] at least in part, of racist bouncer violence and dress codes that seemed designed to target Black patrons.[51]

The Downtown Halifax Business Commission, in 1994, announced "development in the central business district has come to a standstill."[52] At this nadir of downtown Halifax’s fortunes, the Misty Moon closed, ironically just as the new Halifax music scene was reaching its zenith, with international attention focused on Sloan and their Murderecords labelmates.

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[49] Nathan Roth. *North End Halifax in Transition: A Current Examination of Change and Redevelopment on Gottingen Street.* (School of Planning, Dalhousie University), 2013.

[50] John Demont. "Putting Rage to Work." *Macleans*, August 19. 1991. 14-15.

[51] The Misty Moon did not have a dress code to speak of and was not named in these accusations unlike its sister cabaret, the Palace, whose dress code was quite strict if inconsistently applied.

[52] Downtown Halifax Business Commission. *Regaining the momentum - toward the year 2000: a strategic planning document for downtown Halifax.* (Halifax, NS: Downtown Halifax Business Commission), 1994.

The 1996 amalgamation of Halifax, Dartmouth, Bedford and Halifax County into the Halifax Regional Municipality serves as a bookend to the 1969 annexation, an appropriate closing parenthesis to the period.

1. 5 Background: An Overview Narrative History of the Misty Moon

The Panagiotakos family, Greek immigrants, owned the Marathon Grill at 2213-2223 Gottingen Street, before opening the Misty Moon Show Bar and Tap Beverage Room in 1969. Brothers Andy (Andreas), Peter (Pierros) and Terris (Terry) owned and ran the Misty Moon, with younger brother Louis coming on as manager later. Recalls Andy, "We started the Misty Moon in and around the late 1960's. There were very few larger bars and lounges in the Halifax peninsula. Right across the street from us, on Gottingen Street, there was the El Strato Lounge, on Barrington Street, there was Peppermint Lounge, and on Spring Garden Road there was The Captain's Cabin. These were the major players on the Halifax peninsula before we came around."[53]

The Misty Moon was an upstairs club, noted for its balcony overlooking the street (see Figure 2) and the glass dancefloor. Early on, due to its location on Gottingen, it was frequented by the African Nova Scotian residents who lived nearby as well as white patrons.

[53] Andy Panagiotakos. "Misty Moon Thesis – Andy Panagiotakos.pdf." Written responses to questions, in the author's possession. November 24, 2020.

Figure 1 - The Misty Moon Show Bar, 2213-2215 Gottingen Street, circa 1980. "Spice" appears on the marquee. Photo credit: Eric McDow. Used with permission

It was opened as a "Show Bar" and acquired a relatively new cabaret license type, a class of license with late hours that required the venue to offer live entertainment. It was the most expensive license class – by 1989, a cabaret license would cost more than three times the fee for any other kind of license.[54] The designation allowed the club to be open until 3:30[55] am, and effectively tied its fortunes to the live entertainment industry -- for the most part, this meant the music industry. Halifax had a growing music scene, and with the Halifax International Airport

[54] *Liquor Licensing Regulations, NS Reg 156/83,* Public Law 50, Nova Scotia Legislature.

[55] In the regulations currently there are "Cabaret License - Class A" and "Cabaret License (bar) - Class B". The former permits liquor sales until 3:30 am, and the latter ends sales at 2:00 am.

opening in 1960, more touring acts were willing to travel to the small city. The Panagiotakos brothers began attracting big name acts like the Platters, Gary US Bonds, and Looking Glass. (See Figure 2).

Figure 2: Advertisements for the Misty Moon (1970s)

In December 1979, Michael Young was stabbed to death in the washroom of the Misty Moon by two men, Harry Crann and Michael Graham, the latter of whom was underage at the time (18).[56] Whether this was the inducement for the building of a new location is not clear; however, the Panagiotakoses purchased and renovated a building on Kempt Road. In August of 1980, the Gottingen Street location closed, taking the mandatory days of closure required by the court following the murder before opening a few weeks later in the new site. The Kempt Road location moved the Misty Moon out of a walkable downtown area onto a commercial street

[56] *"*Two charged in stabbing of man, 22*." Chronicle-Herald,* December 26. (Halifax), 1979.

known for its car showrooms. The building was renovated to be a state-of-the-art nightclub. This location increased the bar's reputation as the go-to place to catch live music.

Although no narrators offered evidence as to why the bar moved from Kempt to Barrington after only four years, despite the costly renovations to the building, several offered theories that the move was related to vandalism in the nearby car lots, or perhaps to stronger enforcement of drunk driving laws. Police started taking drinking and driving much more seriously throughout the 80s. The laws had been toughened up in 1969, but the founding of Mothers Against Drunk Driving in 1980 started an international push to take the danger of drinking and driving more seriously.[57] In the 1984 symposium on Public Drinking and Public Policy, there was a presentation on tavern and bar owners' liability with regard to patrons, so-called "dram shop legislation" that highlights a new focus on drinking and driving among lawmakers.[58]

In 1984, the Misty Moon moved to its final location, on the corner of Barrington and Sackville Streets downtown, a site that had formerly been held by large retailers Zellers and Towers. Andy Panagiotakos shared, "Around 1979, we moved to Kempt Rd. and then to Barrington St. in 1984. Any changes in the local bar scene did not affect our ability to maintain our standing as the major spot for people to go. Eventually, we expanded our capacity in the entertainment scene by acquiring The Palace Cabaret from Seymour Offman in the late 1970's. We also opened Secretary's Pub beneath the Misty Moon on Sackville Street. At the height of

[57] Joseph F Kenkel. *Impaired Driving in Canada, 2009 Edition*. (Markham, Ontario: LexisNexis Canada). 2008.

[58] Single & Storm. *Public Drinking & Public Policy. pp.46*

operating these three nightclubs, it would not be unusual to have 3000 people combined in one night at the same time and possibly turning over 4000 people in the run of the night."[59]

This was a time when it was feasible to make a living playing in a local band. Several narrators attest to the fact that they were well compensated, particularly up to the mid-1980s. The music scene in Halifax and the region was active, with high schools, universities, dances and clubs providing venues for bands. With the success of some bars proving that the public had an appetite for this kind of entertainment, more bars opened, and competition became stiffer. Bill Hollis, a retired Staff Sergeant with the Halifax Police Department, remembers that around the time community-based policing started,[60] a survey found there were 171 bars in downtown Halifax.

By the late '80s, bars were engaging in price wars, hoping to lure the lucrative university student market and other young people with cheap draught beer and spirits.[61] Shooter bars were trendy, and Ladies' Nights and pub crawls were popular promotions, as were increasingly outrageous stunts like wet t-shirt contests and Jell-O wrestling. Halifax hosted events like Mardi Gras, an annual Halloween celebration that accelerated into a binge-drinking festival of bar hopping.[62]

There is a noticeable change in tone among narrators discussing the business and money side of both the bar and music industry as the economy slowed in the late 80s and beyond. The

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[59] Andy Panagiotakos, Misty Moon.

[60] 1985, according to Donald Clairmont's 1993 Atlantic Institute of Criminology paper, "Halifax Police Department and Community Based Policing."

[61] Jeremy Hall. *Peddler's Pub and JJ Rossy's Ltd*. (Wolfville: Acadia School of Business), 1995.

[62] "Mardi Gras Memories" is a municipal archives exhibit posted on the website for Halifax Regional Municipality, Halifax.ca. Accessed November 19, 2019. https://www.halifax.ca/about-halifax/municipal-archives/exhibits/halloween-mardi-gras.

Panagiotakos brothers sold the bar in 1988 to Geoff Palmeter, a 25-year-old business graduate who had managed the bar before taking it over. He renamed the business The New Misty Moon Cabaret and aimed to broaden its appeal by bringing in younger acts like Montreal's The Box and, in a 1990 MuchMusic-sponsored show, The Tragically Hip. The cost of attracting musicians continued to climb, but, according to Palmeter, economic pressure made it challenging to raise cover charges. Halifax's distance from other major centres and unpredictable weather may have affected its appeal to touring bands more when the bands weren't being engaged for one- or two-week gigs at a time, as they had in the early days of the bar. Music styles had changed. The music was shifting to a new, indie ethos that called for smaller venues, ones less dependent on big name bands as a draw. And, the baby boom generation that had formed the bulk of the Misty Moon's community were less interested in staying out past 3:00 am. In 1991, Geoff Palmeter sold the bar to Palace Cabaret owner Jerry Khoury; in 1992, it was sold to developer Ralph Medjuck. In 1993 Medjuck renamed it the Roxbury. In 1994 it closed.

Chapter 2: Music and Celebrity

No one mentions the Misty Moon without mentioning the music, and this is also true of the narrators who participated in this project. Halifax has ample places to drink, but few venues have hosted the extensive range of musicians the Misty Moon has. Music often ties into the narrators' personal identities and the way the people associated with the Misty Moon recognized themselves as a collective. The narrators recalled local and international acts and looked back with wonder at the prosaic nature and regularity of their past-selves' encounters with celebrity, which invites a consideration of the nature of celebrity and social distance and the quasi-celebrity "halo effect" that bar staff take on. An excellent example of these "brushes with fame" are the stories, shared by most narrators, of the night the Doobie Brothers played. In these and other stories relating to how the narrators interacted with celebrities, the motif of a t-shirt emerges. The allegorical resonance with the phrase "the shirt off my back" breaks through into conscious narrative in Norma MacNeil's Mamas and Papas story, and the shirts carry the image of the intimacy that the narrators felt with these distant celebrities.

2.1 Music and Halifax's Cultural Identity in 1969-1994

The rock music that was the Misty Moon's mainstay is at odds with what someone from outside the region might have expected as a visitor, both in terms of star power and genre, if said visitor had bought into the rustic presentation of Nova Scotia in tourism campaigns.[1]

[1] Michael Barclay. *Have not been the same: the CanRock renaissance, 1985-1995.* Edited by Jennifer Hale, Michael Holmes, Ian Andrew, Dylan Jack and Jason Schneider. (Toronto: ECW Press), 2001. p.498

Ian McKay has written about Nova Scotia's cultivated-for-tourists identity as a Celtic, "folk", pastoral place.[2] In spite of Herb Wyile's refutation of this idea in the sphere of literature,[3] it remains a surprise for many visitors and residents to learn that Halifax has a long history of association with big-name "world class" musicians of all genres, and indeed, has launched many of its own. Duke Ellington was known to play the Lobster Trap when he was in town visiting relatives in the 1960s. The Arrows Club hosted Ike and Tina Turner and Ben E. King in the '70s. Since 1987, the Jazz Festival has brought in well-known artists from around the world. The Metro Centre regularly hosted concerts by artists as successful and varied as Iron Maiden, Van Halen, Garth Brooks, Rush, Bryan Adams, Cher and Paul Simon. And bars, notably the Misty Moon, had hosted top rock acts in each decade, including Looking Glass, George Thorogood, April Wine, Nazareth, Tower of Power, Loverboy and the Tragically Hip.

In Halifax, the stadium rock sound[4] never fully lost popularity. Q104-FM launched in 1983 as "the Rock of the Atlantic" and since then, it has achieved almost unfailingly high ratings featuring mainly 1970s and 1980s hard rock. By comparison, to date, there has not been an 'urban' radio station in the Halifax market and current pop stations have struggled to match

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[2] McKay, Ian. *The quest of the folk: antimodernism and cultural selection in twentieth-century Nova Scotia.* Edited by Canadian Electronic Library (Firm), American Council of Learned Societies. (Montreal Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press), 1994.

[3] Herb Wyile. *Anne of Tim Hortons: Globalization and the reshaping of Atlantic-Canadian literature.* (Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press), 2011.

[4] As defined in Shuker's *Popular Music: The Key Concepts*, which notes that hard rock, also known as "cock rock", is characterized by "loud volume and assertive masculinity." Roy Shuker. *Popular Music: the Key Concepts*. 2nd ed. Routledge Key Guides. (London: Routledge, 2005).

Q104's success.[5] It is no coincidence that Q104 sponsored shows and promotions with the Misty Moon. The persona projected by the on-air personalities like "Hal Harbour" or "Greasy Gary", Nova Scotian versions of the "assertive masculinity" associated with hard rock, closely aligned with a perception of a typical Misty Moon patron: a gregarious, hard partying, working class white male; fun but prone to off-colour, often sexist humour. This characterization lines up with Cathy Jones' reported negative characterization of Halifax as "redneck".[6]

The period 1969-1994 describes a large chunk of the youth and young adult years of the baby boom generation and this may be part of the key to the rise and fall of the Misty Moon. Owram, in *Born at the Right Time,* describes rock music as "the centre of youth entertainment in the 1960s." He noted that, "It retained the unswerving loyalty of a generation at a time when many other gods were to fall from their pedestals."[7] Katz, in "The Greatest Band that Never Was: Music, Memory and Boomer Biography"[8] marvels at "how rock music, in a relatively short period of time, was transformed from a marginal and marginalized adolescent subgenre to a global aural commercial empire." If, in the sixties, rock was the "medium of the counterculture"[9], by the mid-seventies, radio was presenting much of it as the music of mainstream culture. In the 1980s, a British pop invasion and the effects of music videos on the

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[5] Information retrieved from *The History of Broadcasting*, a site kept current until 2019 by the Canadian Communications Foundation: http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/listing_and_histories/radio/cfrq-fm. August 26, 2021.

[6] Bruce, "Not the city I knew".

[7] Doug Owram. *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-boom Generation*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1996. p.190

[8] Stephen Katz. "The Greatest Band That Never Was: Music, Memory, and Boomer Biography." *Popular music and society* 42, no. 5:576-591. 2019.

[9] Owram, Born at the Right Time.p.190

industry, trends remarked on in mass media widely and notable to all who were alive at the time, were barely perceptible in the narrators' recall. By the 1990s, independent music was pushing back on the baby boomers' taste dominance. Still, Katz notes, "Perhaps the image of rock music is that it divided an entire generation from everything that preceded it, yet classic boomer rock has proven its durability by migrating across to younger generations to create shared memories and affects."

The Misty Moon featured a fairly broad spectrum of mainstream music, but tended to favour rock bands over disco, dance or pop bands. "Mainstream", Thornton points out in *Club Cultures*, is a fluid concept: "it is precisely because the social connotations of the mainstream are rarely examined that the term is so useful."[10] She points out that the term is often used by clubbers disparagingly to indicate inauthenticity. Mainstreamers are identified in the London club scene using personas "Sharon and Tracy", identified by ravers as the kinds of working-class women who go to clubs just to relax and dance around their purses, characters presented in opposition to the serious adherents to the club lifestyle. "The vast majority of clubbers and ravers distinguish themselves against the mainstream,"[11] according to Thornton. The Misty Moon is consistently remembered as a more democratic club, where many different types of people were represented. The kind of gatekeeping that Thornton describes is not evident, although the narrators describe more overt forms of gatekeeping such as being asked to eject obviously gay patrons for "making out" on the dance floor. The narrators interviewed identified the crowd predominantly as "the rock crowd." This is not the same as mainstream, but in comparison with

[10] Thornton, *Club Cultures*. P.101

[11] Ibid, p.105

the subcultures Thornton describes, it is a closer approximate representation of the whole of the Halifax population.

2.2 Music as national identity marker

The threatening proximity and dominance of American culture has inspired concern among Canada's legislators as far back as the early days of radio, both in terms of the market for culture products and in terms of cultural identity.[12] Following 1929's Aird Commission, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was established as a way to ensure that Canadian culture and voices were guaranteed a platform and production. In 1951 the Massey Commission's report resoundingly supported the role of government in fostering a national identity through cultural institutions. This centralized government approach of fostering culture and arts was not without pushback from conservative and commercial interests who argued that it was not government's place to manage the arts; that radio and television represented commercial opportunities that the model did not recognize; and that the costs of this system were unconscionable.[13] In 1958, the Board of Broadcast Governors was founded as an arms-length regulator, as a response to these critiques. In 1968 the BBG became the CRTC (Canadian Radio and Television Commission, now the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission), a body responsible for regulating broadcast and telecommunications in Canada. Of particular note for the purpose of this thesis, the CRTC is responsible for monitoring and enforcing Canadian content rules.

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[12] Eric Spalding. "Turning Point: The Origins of Canadian Content Requirements for Commercial Radio." *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 50, no. 3 (2016): 669-690. muse.jhu.edu/article/669015.

[13] Frank W. Peers. *XVI: The Massey Commission.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 2016. pp. 413-425

Canadian content rules were deemed necessary to ensure Canadian musicians got played on commercial radio.[14] [15] Beginning in 1971, AM radio stations, prevalent at the time, were required to play 30% Canadian content (Cancon) between 6 am and midnight. A song would be deemed Canadian based on the MAPL system: two of the four criteria[16] - music, artist, lyrics, production - were required to be Canadian to qualify. This would ensure that the benefits of the Cancon requirements flowed throughout the music industry elements of writing, performance, production, and publishing. FM radio, being rarer and mostly dedicated to classical music, was excluded. In 1976, the requirement was extended to popular FM stations.

At the outset of the 1970s, Canadian popular music taste was overwhelmingly influenced by American acts, but their taste for homegrown talent teetered between the older generation's beloved Don Messer and younger Canadian acts like the Guess Who, Anne Murray and Edward Bear. The new Cancon regulations helped support the development of the industry, and amongst the folky pop of Gordon Lightfoot and Anne Murray, a distinct Canadian rock sound emerged, building off the success of Neil Young and the Guess Who: Canadian rock defined broadly was anything that satisfied the MAPL criteria, but there was a particular Canadian flavour of hard rock with guitars in the forefront, melodic but strong. Throughout the decade, artists like Bachman Turner Overdrive (BTO), April Wine, Trooper, Loverboy and Chilliwack became bona fide stars, supported by domestic radio airplay and tours which often included large nightclubs like the Misty Moon.

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[14] Ryan Edwardson. *Canuck Rock: A History of Canadian Popular Music*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division), 2009.

[15] Spalding, Turning Point.

[16] For the first year, only one element was required. (Spalding, Turning Point.)

Canadians have a complicated relationship with a patriotic cultural identity. Larry Evoy, singer for Edward Bear, is quoted in *Canuck Rock* as saying, in regard to Capitol Records promoting their early '70s albums as Canadian, "there's still that feeling that Canadian talent is second rate, and making a point of saying it [is Canadian] isn't such a hot idea."[17] In the opening of "Have Not Been the Same", the authors note that, in 1985, "admitting you like Canadian music as an umbrella genre is like revealing an affinity for turnips," and that youth of the early 80s thought their country's culture "sucked."[18]

While songs like The Tragically Hip's Bobcaygeon and Joel Plaskett's True Patriot Love and Love this Town eventually revealed that being Canadian might not be the most embarrassing thing, this conflicted feeling about Canadian music was not expressed by the narrators I spoke with. International stars like George Thorogood, the Doobie Brothers and Long John Baldry were mentioned in mostly the same tones as Canadian acts Loverboy, Bryan Adams, Jeff Healey, Doug & the Slugs, and even Atlantic Canadian stalwarts like Matt Minglewood, Sam Moon and Dutch Mason. The latter three were spoken of with special pride and appreciation. Nova Scotia's traditional folk music, however, did not receive the same warmth: narrator Eric McDow described a hospital trip, "the nurse said--you allergic to anything? I said Celtic music. I hate it. I can't stand it. I hate it. I HATE it."[19]

2.2 The Cabaret Role

[17] Edwardson. *Canuck Rock.*

[18] Barclay. *Have Not Been the Same.* p.5

[19] Eric McDow, in interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia. February 27, 2021.

The Misty Moon began as a Show Bar with a cabaret license[20]. This license came with a requirement of live entertainment nightly and allowed the bar to be open till 3:30 am. The requirement to fill the live entertainment slot would turn out to be a defining characteristic and key ingredient in the club's success, and the late closing meant that people would head to the Misty Moon after other clubs closed.

There were several show bars or cabarets in the province, including the Lobster Trap, and the early conception of what constituted 'cabaret' entertainment meant some of the Misty Moon's shows in its first decade included dancers, strippers, drag shows and show bands: the types of acts that drew patrons through the promise of entertainment (or titillation) more than on the value of name recognition. At inception, patrons were drawn from the surrounding neighbourhood, but the bands it was bringing in by the mid-seventies served to spread its reputation throughout the city and beyond, drawing crowds from throughout the province and sometimes the region, thus creating a reputation as the city's rock venue. Still, even from the beginning, it is recalled as a place where scandalous, if not dangerous, things might happen.

On the Gottingen Street Neighbourhood Facebook group, under a posted photo of the Misty Moon[21], comments ranged from memories of bands, to drinking in it underage, to one member's memory of a drag show (grammar, spelling and punctuation as in the original): "I remember my dart team went there to celebrate their Maritime win back in 75 one of our team members really got three sheets to the wind they were having a drag show there that night and he

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[20] For all intents and purposes, 'show bar' and 'cabaret' are interchangeable throughout.

[21] Drake, Karl James, "For all my true true North Enders I have a memory for you!!!!When you see this picture what comes over you???Sound Off!!" *Memories of Gottingen Neighbourhood group, Facebook,* October 16, 2016. Retrieved August 19, 2021. https://www.facebook.com/groups/735064113234082/posts/1220388028035019

got tangled up with one of the entertainers and started to take flowers out of the entertainers crouch with his teeth the falla's put a stop to it before it got romantic."[22]

In my interview with Paul Eisan and Ron Bone, the pair remembered an early show at the Gottingen location, with a lascivious glee that might be channeled from their 19-year-old selves to the present:

> *Paul Eisan.* ... so we went up to the Misty Moon; Terris wanted us to play. So we back up Miss Nude World, Miss Nude America. It was hilarious.
>
> *Ron Bone***.** That was when she was in a, in a glass champagne bottle.
>
> *Paul Eisan.* It was just crazy.
>
> *Ron Bone.* -- champagne glass. And bubbles, and bubbles coming out.[23]

Some of the acts did have name value, or soon would. Sam Moon recalled that one of these regular touring show bands featured later Canadian television celebrity Steve Smith: "They ended up with a TV show, *Smith & Smith*, with his wife [Morag]. And then of course, everybody knows, he went on to do Red Green. […] So he would have come into the Misty Moon with his wife and play with a, well, sometimes 11, 12, 13 piece band. A showband, and they had a comedy thing." [24]

Sam Moon recalled that owner Terris Panagiotakos soon recognized that local bands and the cabaret license were a good business mix:

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[22] Bonnar, Jim, commenting on Drake's post (above), October 16, 2016. https://www.facebook.com/groups/735064113234082/posts/1220388028035019?comment_id=1221424804598008 Retrieved August 19, 2021.

[23] Ron Bone and Paul Eisan, in interview by the author. East Petpeswick, Nova Scotia. August 2, 2020.

[24] Sam Moon, interview with the author, by telephone, Halifax, Nova Scotia. February 11, 2021.

> ...then he began bringing in, with some local groups, began bringing in national and international artists... Long John Baldry and Cathy MacDonald, a very popular musician out in BC, Jerry Doucet began playing there, Rory Young from England, and they became interspersed and to have a cabaret license, you had to run seven days a week, the late hours. So oftentimes the local band would play the whole week. Joined the weekend by the headliner, right? So that's, that was a little switch from the show bands to all of a sudden it became a real hotspot for this new generation of people going out.
>
> I would say, probably the mid-'70s or '73, maybe '74, '75 the first local band started playing the Misty Moon. They did a one-time thing and I can't tell you if it was Minglewood -- I don't think it was our band. Like I say, I was on my own by then. And very quickly, they discovered that they began getting a lot of students and student nurses' crowd because the taverns, and by this time of course the drinking age went to 21[25], and a lot of local lounges and so on would finish up, say one, two o'clock. Taverns, I think the entertainment had to be done by midnight as far as I remember. So everybody would make their way to the Misty Moon, so they decided to get the bands that suited that age group.[26]

Interestingly, and in contrast to the practice at most clubs, when the local bands played with the headliner, the locals would often be put on last - instead of an opening act, they would serve as a closing act, according to narrators Scott Rogers and Eric McDow. This was because most travelling musicians were accustomed to playing in clubs that closed at 1 or 2 pm. As the

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[25] Sam Moon misspoke here--he meant it went from 21 to 19. In 1971, Greg Marquis has noted, the drinking age in Nova Scotia dropped to 19. (Marquis, A Reluctant Concession)

[26] Moon, interview.

management began adding local bands and more well-known acts, the Misty Moon began to take on a larger presence in the Halifax music scene, moving from being a neighbourhood / novelty cabaret to a music fan's club.

2.3 The Local Music Scene

If one were to animate a representation of musicians in the region from the narrators' descriptions, it might look like the workings of a lava lamp, with large bands splitting up and reconfiguring to form new permutations. The theory of six degrees of separation might have been devised by someone from Atlantic Canada listening to local musicians discuss their peers, although six degrees might be a stretch – in practice, the separation is often only one or two degrees. In such a small geographic area and population, this isn't surprising, although the concentration of talent sometimes seems to be. Peter Crowe, an amateur archivist, created a website called NS Classic Rock (http://nsclassicrock.mysite.com/) which lists many of the acts mentioned and which has been a valuable resource in compiling this work. The site is quite dated[27] and therefore searching it is not quite the seamless task one expects of today's internet, but with determination, the user can trace paths of connection as musicians move from band to band, intermingling through Minglewood to Molly Oliver to Stitch in Tyme to Pepper Tree, and on and on.

Four of the narrators were musicians: Sam Moon, Paul Eisan, Eric McDow and Scott Rogers. Sam played with Matt Minglewood, and then with his own band. Paul and Eric played together in Spice, a very popular Beatles tribute band, and Paul played in several others

[27] The site's aesthetics and coding suggest a late 90s origin. As per the moniker, it does not list "newer" Nova Scotia bands like Black Pool, Sloan or Dog Day. The last updates noted on the site are from 2019.

including Fast Forward and Chalice, with some of the same musicians. Scott Rogers was with a band based in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, named Rox (sometimes rendered Rox Band). Several local bands are frequently mentioned in the same breath as the Misty Moon: Matt Minglewood, Oakley, Sam Moon, Dutch Mason and Spice. The Misty Moon may have been known for attracting large international acts, but these local acts were perennial reliable draws. Some of these appear on an official Misty Moon t-shirt produced some time in the Kempt Road time period. (Figure 3).

Figure 3: T-shirt produced at Kempt Road location, noting regular acts, most of whom are local bands.

In one interview, Ron Bone, who served as a roadie and sound / lighting technician in addition to his Misty Moon role, and musician Paul Eisan volleyed a set of names as they talked about musicians who were contemporaneous with Spice. The back and forth proved challenging to keep up with as the long-time friends finished each other's thoughts and engaged with reference points that were opaque to the interviewer. Doing oral history interviews, it is best to avoid this kind of exchange, and yet it offers insights into the interrelationships in the thicket of talent in Halifax; and also insights into the way the narrators' memories work, leaping off each other, keeping up with each other's logic leaps and barely enunciated hints. With Paul's

challenged memory, it is likely that part of Ron's detailed commentary was to help Paul's recall. The parentheticals are the narrators' insertions in each other's thoughts. They start by talking about Dutch Mason's band:

> *Paul Eisan***.** Wade Brown[28], guitar, yeah.
>
> *Ron Bone.* Played that y- little white- or what's it?
>
> *Paul Eisan.* Gary Blair on drums[29].
>
> *Ron Bone.* Yep, played that yellow Telecaster. Could he ever play? (Wow.) Oh, yeah he played well. There's s-- and you see guys like Mark MacMillan[30], and – well, that was Scott Macmillan's[31] brother, right, (yeah) he [was] playing with Minglewood -- what a talented player he was. (Loads of players.) And Paul Dunn[32] playing piano, which is Kim Dunn's brother (Yep.) or cousin. And – (Brother.) Owen Hann[33]. (Yeah.) His brother – Owen, or, Donnie was in Minglewood, and his brother Owen was the bass player- both bass players, two brothers, playing- one's playing in Minglewood and the other one's playing in The Battery. (Wow.)
>
> *Paul Eisan.* Good bands. Boy, talented people.

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[28] Guitarist for Dutch Mason's band, died in 2010. https://www.cbc.ca/news/entertainment/n-s-blues-guitarist-wade-brown-dead-at-63-1.900852

[29] More about Nova Scotia's classic blues musician Dutch Mason: http://nsclassicrock.mysite.com/dutchmason.html

[30] More about Mark MacMillan: https://www.discogs.com/artist/3898484-Mark-MacMillan

[31] Internationally recognized musician in a more classical genre https://www.scott-macmillan.ca/

[32] Paul Dunn's memoriam announcement: http://www.inmemoriam.ca/view-announcement-2371727-paul-dunn.html

[33] There is not really a lot online about Owen Hann though there are photos of and information about Donnie with the Minglewood band. There is, however, this blues recording from PEI that may be the same Owen Hann: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qxKUduno2EQ

Ron Bone. And the guys like Ian Acker, coming from Cape Breton -- saxophone player, singer -- awesome singer. Awesome player. Jimmy Amason, Ross Billard was in The Battery.

Paul Eisan. Ross plays in the -- my band now. And (Oh, I-) Ross Billard, keyboard player (- sounds familiar), plays with Mingle- or, plays with Myles Goodwyn in his blues band. (Yeah.) he's like, the talent that's here, It's just -- and you look at Myles, what he does with his blues band now (Yeah.) he's got all local guys. You know he's got, buddy he used to play with... that, that other blues player.[34]

The respect and appreciation these two offer their colleagues in the local music industry, which is also typical of the other narrators, is notable. Paul Eisan has played with international celebrities including Roger Whitaker and Pete Best, yet he is generous in his praise of his local peers. He has, it would seem, "an affinity for turnips,"[35] one that he shares with many Misty Moon patrons and staff.

Spice was mentioned by several narrators, and for a few years was a regular fixture at the Misty Moon. Eric McDow recounted the short but successful career of the band, a Beatles tribute band he played in with Paul Eisan, Floyd King and Kevin MacMichael. Spice had the distinction of being, according to Eric McDow, the only band to have played all three locations of the Misty Moon with the same line-up. Why is the band so well remembered despite only playing together regularly for two years, over 1980-82, with a short reunion in 1984-85? The answer is likely a complex nexus of baby boom affection for all things Beatles, the extraordinary esteem the band

[34] Bone and Eisan, interview, August 2, 2020.

[35] Barclay. *Have Not Been the Same.* p.5

members enjoyed from other musicians, the staff and the patrons of the Misty Moon, and the canny business sense of McDow himself.

When Spice formed, Eisan, MacMichael and King were seasoned players already, and had played together in Nite Owl. MacMichael and King had played together in Grey Owl. McDow recounted playing with the Lobster Trap's host band, and with a PEI band. Tired of travelling, he called a few venues and started booking himself gigs, saying he had a band. With a gig obtained, he called around to find people to fill up the "band". He listed a number of musicians he worked with in this ad hoc manner before the band (which at the time was called Asia) settled into the final line up as Spice.[36]

When Eric McDow recalled how Spice were invited to play at the Misty Moon, he suggests that Terris was keeping tabs on the rising talent in Halifax:

> We started playing the Green Room [at Dalhousie] for Brookes Diamond, his wife, Fiona -- we started in the Green Room, and then we did well enough to graduate to the cafeteria. And then finally we got up to the McGinnis Room! And [in] that journey we came to the attention of Terris Panagiotakos. And I didn't know him. ... It was likely Paul, because I think Paul had played at the Misty Moon in other bands or whatever. But Terry was familiar with the fact that we were doing well at frat houses and universities.
>
> He had a guy coming in from Toronto called Jim Eaves, E-A-V-E-S. Do you know him? Was a blues --he's dead now. … The Toronto bars used to close at one o'clock. Right? They all do. So he didn't like the idea of playing till three. He would do an encore, if he got one, till quarter after one. But that was it. But the club is open till three,

[36] McDow, interview.

so Terris didn't need an opening band. He needed a *closing* band. So he asked, I think, Paul, if we would play the last hour at the Misty Moon, from two to three."[37]

After this initial engagement, Spice became regulars in the bar's roster and were scheduled to play the first or second week the Kempt Road location was open. Scott Rogers spoke about Spice as a band, "Those, the three of them singing together? Him [Floyd King], Kevin and Paul? Sweet mother. It was something. Those were three really good voices. And they knew that Beatles stuff inside out."

Ron Bone recounted that Spice would host "stump the band" competitions, where audience members could request any Beatles tune and the band would play it. He said the band was so good they had to "throw" it sometimes, because no one ever won. They would confess defeat, allow the audience member to collect their pitcher of beer, or other prize, and then come back from break, and play the tune that had been requested. [38]

Kevin MacMichael's subsequent international success may be another reason Spice is remembered so fondly. He met Nick Van Eede from the Drivers ("Tears on your Anorak" was a minor radio hit in Canada) when the latter played at the Misty Moon. The two would later travel to England and form Cutting Crew. The band had a number one hit in 1987, "I Just Died in Your Arms Tonight," and won a Best New Artist Grammy. MacMichael later played with Robert Plant on one album and tour, netting another Grammy nomination, before returning to Nova Scotia. He died of cancer in 2002.

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ron Bone, in interview with the author, Sackville, Nova Scotia. May 28, 2020.

Scott Rogers of Rox recalls MacMichael making the decision to go to the UK.

> I remember Kevin MacMichael. He was in Spice, guitar player, ended up going to England. And doing really well. You know, he had those big hits, "Died in Your Arms Tonight" and all that stuff. And I remember sitting back talking to him, at the Moon on Kempt Road. And he couldn't decide whether he was going to go or not, you know, because he had his wife and all, [...] and I think she was, she was either pregnant or Cadence was just a little baby, I forget. And he was sitting back there, and Kevin smoked like it was good for him. And we're just drinking some beer and, and I remember, and I mean, I didn't make up his mind, but I can remember that instance. And I said to him, man, you always wanted to do it. You know, you always thought you were Paul McCartney. You're going around talking in a British accent. Give it a go. What do you got to lose? Right, you know, but a lot of stuff came out of that Moon. Because he never would have met buddy with the Drivers [Nick Van Eede] there, who ended up, they were both in that band they put together.[39]

2.4 The Big-Name Bands: Celebrity Encounters

The Friends of the Misty Moon Facebook group has assembled through crowdsourcing a list of 424 bands who played the Misty Moon, which is included in Appendix A. I was able to add three to this list by going through newspapers in the archives, which leads me to believe that this is not comprehensive. Still, it is an impressive list, running from chart toppers to random touring bands to tribute bands to small local bands. The cabaret format requiring live entertainment each night induced a certain amount of risk taking and experimentation in bringing

[39] Scott Rogers, interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, February 28, 2021.

in acts. Most narrators attribute the booking of bands for the bar to owner Terris Panagiotakos. Scott Rogers said, "he brought in everybody, he brought in big acts. Right. And treated them right. They liked coming here."

It is a more intimate experience to see a band in a club than at a concert venue like the Halifax Metro Centre, the Rebecca Cohn Theatre, or the Halifax Forum, even a club that held 1000-1500 people comfortably. This promise of proximity to celebrities and musicians contributed to the lustre of the Misty Moon. One big-name band show that is infamous among Misty Moon fans was not one booked by Terris Panagiotakos. The Metro Centre had opened in 1978 and begun attracting more big-name talent to the city. The Doobie Brothers, about to release the follow up to their smash hit album *Minute by Minute*, were booked to kick off their world tour with a concert at the Metro Centre on August 20, 1980. The international celebrities had experienced success throughout the 1970s with chart-topping singles like "Takin it To the Streets", "Minute by Minute" and "What a Fool Believes." They landed in Halifax and spent a few days preparing for their tour. In a case of profound timing, they wound up at the Misty Moon the very night the Gottingen Street location was scheduled to close, on August 17, 1980. All of the narrators who worked at the Misty Moon then, and a few of the others, shared a version of the Doobie Brothers story, which Pam Marsh has also shared online.[40] Even from those without a direct memory, the story was named as one essential to the history of the club.

Sam Moon's story is the most detailed, perhaps unsurprisingly. He was onstage and therefore perhaps more sober than the others. Plus, by his own account, he was the one who

[40] Pam Marsh's memory of this classic story resides online at http://www.rbops.com/pam/story1.html - Pam notes that Keith Knudsen, the drummer, also helped retrieve the piano - not a roadie - and that she was called up to sing "Long Train Runnin'" with them, offering evidence that they did perform at least one of their own songs.

invited them to the stage. Below is Sam's version, and then I will examine some of the intriguing differences that emerged among narrators' recollections. In some respects, it is clear that this is a story that has been much shared, by all the narrators. The telling presents as polished, there is an internally consistent set of details amongst narrators and again, it is really well known, and was mentioned by narrators who were not themselves there.

> Although I don't believe we were the first band to play there [Gottingen Street location], I was the last person to play there. On Sunday night. The one on Kempt Road was coming into play. In fact, it had been constructed and was gonna open the following week. Yeah. And on a Sunday night, closing night. We happened to be the band there, it was just a coincidence. Also at the same time, might be interesting, the Doobie Brothers were in town.
>
> Yes, it was the opening of their World Tour. Usually, they would just come into town and, and play and the next morning, be off. But since they were starting their tour, they came in about maybe three or four days early to test out the equipment.
>
> You'd think the last night of the Misty Moon Gottingen would have been packed-jam, but it wasn't. [...] But lo and behold after the soundcheck over at the Metro Center that night, in walk the Doobie Brothers with their road crew from Texas and they were looking to sort of have a few beverages and relax and so on. And anyway, I played a set. I kind of recognized like Michael McDonald pretty easy and so on, and they sat down right in front of the stage so when our break came and I had to get down off the stage, I thought, I have to say something, and I, you know … even though I played all my life you become a fan, right? Yeah. I thought, what am I going to say? You know? So

stupidly on my part, I guess, I just blurted out, “Hi, guys. Welcome to Nova Scotia. Do you want to jam?” And they said yes!

Wow. Now Mike McDonald played piano, of course, and sang. The band I was in with Terry Hatty and Pat Riley and George Antoniak, we had two guitars, bass, drums, and myself. We had no keyboard. And Pam Marsh was a local legend, a singer. Talented lady sang with, uh, she toured with Sylvia Tyson and she, she's on a lot of the background vocals of big hits by April Wine, Coulda Been a Lady, and she's also one of the female voices on Minglewood's famous recording Caledonia. Anyway, she was, she was there, and she didn't live too far from the Misty Moon. And she overheard us, and she says, “I got a piano at my place.”

So Michael MacDonald and a roadie and Pam went to Pam's place to get this piano, and if anybody remembers the Moon, the long steps going up, right? Yeah. Very, very steep climb. Anyway, came up with this keyboard and we're in the middle of, we already started in like our second or third set by the time they get back or whatever.

So Michael MacDonald started screwing the legs into the, into the Rhodes piano. And, no roadie helping him, he just did it himself. And he had it set up and he was tinkering around a little bit and somebody picked him up on the soundboard, got a sound and, it was the last song I did in that set. He actually played piano and it was just something I'll go to my grave with. Yeah, I played a song with Michael MacDonald... it was one of my own tunes. He had no idea of what it was, but he played it perfectly. Anyway. They did a whole set, had some beers and everything like that, and we had a great time.

> And I think the next day… I was walking on Spring Garden and I bumped into a bunch of people, coincidentally young people who were at the club. And somebody said to me, I'll never forget it, somebody said to me, "who was that band that got up on the, and jammed last night?... they sounded like the Doobie Brothers."
>
> I said, "It *was* the Doobie Brothers!" I'll never forget that.[41]

Ron Bone, who was a doorman at the Misty Moon at the time, noted that, because of it being the closing night, he was "loaded".

> Me and George [Georgakakos, another staff member] had t-shirts that said, "I drank the Old Moon Dry" with a tap on it and the drops coming out. I got a picture of it on my phone. And I take this shirt off, and I'm loaded. I mean, loaded. I walk up to Mike McDonald. He's talking to Terris-- and I went, "here. This shirt's for you." Sweaty as fuck-- he don't, he don't keep it. One of his roadies got it, guaranteed.[42]

Norma MacNeil remembers the t-shirt too: "They gave us backstage passes. I want you to imagine... they started their tour here. So they were here for a couple of days. We're down at the Metro Centre in the middle of the afternoon now for a soundcheck, sitting in the middle of the Metro Centre, smoking pot hash. I gotta get up and go to work tonight![43] And Ronnie had these t-shirts made that said "I Drank the Old Moon Dry" but it had a tap with a drip coming out of it,

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[41] Sam Moon, interview.

[42] Bone, interview, May 28, 2020.

[43] It is noted below that the night of the concert was a night off for the Misty Moon staff, as a consequence of the murder that had happened in the bathroom in late 1979.

and Mike MacDonald asked him for that t-shirt and Ronnie gave it to him. And here we are watching the concert and Mike MacDonald got his t-shirt on. That's a true story.“

The backstage passes are a key that connect this story to another Misty Moon milestone, that of the murder of Michael Young, which will be discussed in the Memory chapter. One of the outcomes of the murder was that the bar was required to be closed for a night, which happened during the time the bar changed locations from Gottingen to Kempt Road, and since the staff all had the night off, they all went to see the Doobie Brothers concert. Ron Bone describes it:

> We had our own section. They treated us like gold. We were all backstage, snorting fucking blow. Like these guys are all from LA right? And Oakley opened for them. And I remember --Yeah, Wayne Nicholson tries to do a fucking cartwheel across the stage, almost knocks the fucking keyboard rack over, we're all fucking going, "Wayne! fuck off!" and just laughing our holes off, fuck we had a ball. But so that's the Doobie Brothers story.[44]

Allie Fineberg says, “I probably was at that concert that they all went to but I don't remember. I've got large gaps of memory losses,”[45] an admission that may relate to the recreational drug use mentioned in others’ versions of the story.

In 1977 the Rolling Stones had managed to pull off a secret show at Toronto’s El Mocambo club[46], and it is reasonable to expect that the Misty Moon employees knew that story

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[44] Bone, interview, May 28, 2020.

[45] Allie Fineberg, interview with the author, Halifax, Nova Scotia. June 13, 2020.

[46] For more about the Stones’ show at the El Mocambo: https://nationalpost.com/entertainment/music/the-hidden-history-of-how-the-rolling-stones-pulled-of-their-legendary-secret-el-mocambo-show

(in fact, Norma MacNeil mentions it, albeit not in reference to the Doobie Brothers show). The fact that the Doobie Brothers story connects with the murder, coincides with the closing night of the first location, and carries on to the next night's concert, all likely contribute to the fact that it is the quintessential and most-remembered Misty Moon story. I will examine this further in the Memory chapter.

A theme that recurs throughout the interviews is a sense of wonder at the access to celebrities the narrators were granted, whether by dint of their role (musician or bar employee) or simply the atmosphere and proximity created by the venue and the overall atmosphere of Halifax and our region. From the narrators who worked at the Misty Moon, this is often accompanied by an explanation that, at the time, it was 'no big deal'. There is thus a distance introduced between the experience of the narrator remembering in the present and the experience of the narrator in the past. This may reflect in part on the current social positioning and social power of the narrator in the present; however, the interviews did not inquire around present circumstances, so that is difficult to surmise.

Norma MacNeil shared: "As I said, it was nothing for us. Like we're not... we're not gonna like, I'm not gonna get excited cuz I'm gonna meet Stevie Wonder. What the fuck? We meet those people all the time. We didn't realize what we were part of, like that, just, big phenomena. And I sometimes I think that, like, the El Mocambo has, like the Rolling Stones, but I do think that we were bigger and I, and we were busier all the time. Yeah, you know?"[47] And Allie Fineberg says, "I mean, in some ways, I mean, rubbing elbows with all these people that

[47] Norma MacNeil, in interview with the author, by telephone, Halifax, Nova Scotia. May 26, 2020.

we rubbed elbows with was kind of cool, but by the same token, it just happened all the time so you didn't think about it?"[48]

This is worth a closer examination. Today, social media has rendered everyone a potential celebrity, and small surges of fame occur regularly to people who do not emerge from what we might consider the regular sources of celebrity. In *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture*, Storey says, "Today, being a celebrity is to be known for being known."[49] However, in the 1970s and 1980s, traditional celebrities were the order of the day. They served as a focal point in media: Storey says "since the 1980s print media (and other forms of media) have become increasingly dominated by celebrities and celebrity culture."[50] Depending on their level of fame, perceived social distance and to some extent, persona, they engendered attitudes of admiration, envy, and even a religious veneration among fans.[51] Centeno and Wang define social distance as "the perception of distinction between the self and another social entity on the dimensions of perceived similarity, familiarity and group membership (Liberman et al., 2007). As social distance increases, the discrepancy of perception and judgments between the self and the other also increase."[52]

It is possible that the context of the workplace setting and repeated exposure inured the narrators to the headier effects of fandom through the effects of reducing social distance. They

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[48] Fineberg, interview.

[49] Storey, John. *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture*. p116

[50] Ibid, p115

[51] John Frow. "Is Elvis a God?: Cult, Culture, Questions of Method." *International journal of cultural studies* 1, no. 2. 1998. pp.197-210.

[52] Dave Centeno and Jeff Jianfeng Wang. "Effects of narrowed social distance on local and international celebrity-endorsed advertisement attitudes." *The Journal of Consumer Marketing*, -00-00, Vol.37 (5). 2020. p.521-532

may also have been inoculated by their own celebrity, even at the lesser scale they experienced it, insofar as bar staff may bask in the reflected glamour of the musicians and celebrities with which they are associated. It is the 'radiance' that Currid-Halkett and Scott refer to in their article, "The Geography Of Celebrity And Glamour: Reflections On Economy, Culture, And Desire In The City**":** "The stars are the primary vehicles of celebrity and glamour, and these ascribed qualities, intensified through insistent mediatization (cf. Marshall 2006), bathe associated goods and services in a sort of radiance."

As the next chapter will discuss, both bar staff and musicians reported making a lot of money, and wealth is another correlate of fame that might have had the effect of reducing the social distance between the narrators and the visiting 'stars'. As Sternheimer discusses in *Celebrity Culture and the American Dream,* in the early 80s, the political and economic landscape affected the production of celebrity, focussing the media's lens on celebrating the wealthy, often with tales of the hard work they used to achieve this wealth.[53] This turn away from the more collectivist philosophy of the counterculture in the 60s and 70s is an important stage for the baby boom generation. The celebration of material wealth is easily seen in the materialistic and hedonistic tone of some of the stories of the narrators - purchasing cars, boots, expensive custom gifts and drugs. These are the habits of the wealthy, as mass media coverage of celebrity demonstrates.

Interestingly, the musicians I interviewed often reported more awe and humility in their encounters with some (not all) of the celebrity figures. Perhaps because they were more able to

[53] Karen Sternheimer. *Celebrity culture and the American dream: stardom and social mobility.* (New York: Routledge), 2011.

empathize with the challenges and achievements of other musicians, perhaps because they saw their own "celebrity" more easily in scale next to the big-name acts. The theory of social distance seems at odds with this assessment, since the social distance would seem to be less, counter-indicating an increased sense of awe. The difference may rest in genuine respect for and understanding of the accomplishments and skill of the musicians, rather than being dazzled by their fame.

To wit, Scott Rogers' band Rox opened for Three Dog Night.

> "(W)e're opening for Three Dog Night. Right? Who were like, big deal, to us. Yeah, we come from that era. Right? So we're just sitting back there, and who comes back... the three singers. I didn't even think we were going to see them because a lot of those bigger bands will have their sound crew do, their crew do the soundcheck and everything. …. You got to meet these people, you know, saying like Levon Helm, you know, from The Band. He came up with his, his cousins, the Cate Brothers. And you know, just to meet these guys that you've seen for years on TV and videos and records and you've got their records and now you're, you're opening with them."[54]

Likewise, Sam Moon reported meeting Levon Helm and Delbert McClinton, describing them as "down home people" and a "really nice guy".

> I can remember being (in) very good conversations with Levon Helm who played with, with The Band, right? Yeah. He used to come in with the Cate Brothers and play quite a few times, and we'd play with them. And they would invite us to their dressing room,

[54] Rogers, interview.

> very down home sort of thing. ... he had just done the movie, he played the father in the Coal Miner's Daughter right? And he did wonderful, when I saw the movie, he did a really good job on it. For a person that wasn't an actor lifelong, right? Yeah. And I said to him, he said, You know, you're terrific in that movie. And it's amazing what you did. He said, with the southern drawl he says, "Aw, shucks, Sam," he said, "Anybody could have done that, you could have done it." And they were just sort of down home people.
>
> And same thing with Delbert McClinton, just a really nice guy. You know, the business, the music, business can be sometimes not so friendly when you have some really big stars with really big, big heads. But you'd be amazed by some of these people that were so down home, especially in the two that I mentioned, that were, you felt like you knew them, you know, it's amazing.[55]

When the staff of the bar do note how impressed they were to meet a celebrity, it was often because they were a fan from a young age -- before the time that they started working at the Misty Moon. Ron Bone said, "...you know what my favorite band was? Of all them? Tower of Power. Yeah. They were the fucking smokin'est hot band I've ever seen in my life." He later said he had seen them play with Stevie Wonder in Ottawa.[56]

Eric McDow told a story to demonstrate his love of the Beatles: "when A Hard Day's Night came out, I lived across the street from the theatre, I lived on Victoria Road, the first house on Victoria Road, so I packed a little lunch when it was 50 cents to get into the theatre. […] I stayed for the one, three, seven and nine o'clock show, 14 days in a row." After Spice ended, Eric

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[55] Moon, interview.

[56] Bone, interview. May 28, 2021.

McDow booked bands and organized shows, including helping organize productions for "fifth Beatle" Pete Best when he was touring. Lifelong Beatles fan McDow did not believe it was really Roag, Pete Best's brother, who first called him, so he asked Roag to send his promotional package. It came in a mailing tube: "I still have the mailing tube, I kept everything. Oh, if I took sandwiches and spent 14 days, five shows a day, at the Beatles'... I'm not throwing out the mailing tube from Pete Best."[57]

Gay Kennedy said, "I, it's funny when I was working there, there was only, only a few bands that I was excited about them coming. You know, probably cuz they were older. Yeah, like The Mamas and the Papas. Oh, when they were coming? I was like, fuck! You know? Because, I remember watching them on Ed Sullivan!" And then she added, "I don't want them, I don't want them to be--seeming more--more earthly, although, after...John Phillips. … He was a fucking dick."[58] Although she remembered being impressed at the time of the show (likely in 1983), the later allegations of Phillips' abuse of his daughter coloured her perception of him.

Norma MacNeil recalled the Mamas and Papas playing, in a story that echoes Ron's t-shirt / Doobies story. The recurring shirt-gift motif is an intimate symbol of how close the staff got to the famous acts that played at the club:

> When the Mamas and the Papas played for us, and that was when Michelle [MacKenzie Phillips, actually] and her father John were clean. And Michelle had taken the place of

[57] McDow, interview.

[58] Gay Kennedy, in interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, May 28, 2020.

> Mama Cass.[59] And we ended up back at the hotel with those guys. And so I wasn't working at the Moon at the time. But Ann was, and that's what, Ann had said, why don't you come to the Moon tonight, Norma? Ann's roommate lent me a sweater which was some Bible camp here in Nova Scotia. So there I am, with a rock band at four o'clock in the morning and John sort of said to me, is that like a normal thing that people wear to bars, here in Nova Scotia? And I said, no, I borrowed it from somebody, but he wanted it for Mackenzie. And you know that story like, you took the shirt right off of my back? Yeah, we had to call Nancy up and wake Nancy up, and say Mackenzie Phillips wants your sweater, and she's going to give you two limited edition shirts from places in the United States, if you want to trade. And that's exactly what happened. I took my shirt off, gave it to Mackenzie Phillips."[60]

The line, "and we ended up back at the hotel with them", sets a scene of groupie-type behaviour, in part because the protagonist is a woman. Larsen notes that "(t)here is no agreed definition as to who or what a groupie is, but a dominant representation exists in popular media/culture and academic literature of a more extreme type of female fan who seeks intimate emotional and/or sexual relations with musicians."[61] When the excerpt concludes with the removal of the narrator's shirt, the scene seems to be playing out as expected. However, none of the narrators spoke of any type of sexual behaviour.

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[59] The names in this anecdote got muddled in the retelling, but when the New Mamas and Papas toured, the band was John Phillips, his daughter Mackenzie, Elaine "Spanky" McFarlane of Spanky and Our Gang and Denny Doherty.

[60] MacNeil, interview.

[61] Larsen, Gretchen. 2017. "'It's a man's man's man's world': Music groupies and the othering of women in the world of rock." *Organization* (London, England) 24, no. 3:397-417.

MacNeil also shared these tour bus invitations, including the telling line, “we might look like groupies, but really, we’re not, like we have jobs.”[62]

> Then we're on Bryan Adam's tour bus and he's asking us if we want to just go on the bus, tour bus, and go to party, like no, we gotta go to work. Like we might, we might look like groupies, but really, we're not, like we have jobs. We've gotta go back to work! I think it was Powder Blues that said when they left the Misty Moon, they were going to Montreal to open for Bob Seger. And said we could get on the bus with them and go meet Seger. Like, nobody really realized what we were part of... but that was the big thing. And like, that will never come back.[63]

For the purposes of this thesis, the recurrence of the shirt-as-gift image is noteworthy on a symbolic level, illustrating the relationships forged between performers and the staff. Further evidence of these relationships were stories of celebrities who chose to spend their scarce off-time with the staff. Memories that reside outside of the formal club performance space, and even the semi-attached time period of “after parties” are an indicator that some of the relationships with celebrities transcended a transactional shared working relationship. This extended relationship was often correlated to imbibing alcohol and/or drugs, but not always. Allie Fineberg recalled Gay Kennedy taking Bryan Adams out to do his laundry.[64] Kennedy herself recalls a few of these encounters: “I remember when we had Three Dog Night, when they played, and we went and played baseball at the Commons the next day with them.”[65] The

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[62] MacNeil, interview.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Fineberg, interview.

[65] Ron Bone and Gay Kennedy, in interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, May 28, 2020.

baseball game is an interesting memory, contrasting a sunny day time activity with the usual setting of memories.[66] She also recalled an encounter with Gary US Bonds, in a dialogue with Ron Bone:

> *Gay Kennedy.* Gary US Bond. He was leaving, his flight was like, the next morning, Sunday morning, and so I went over John's party after work, and he's like looking at the time,
>
> *Ron Bone.* There might have been a substance abuse problem that time.
>
> *Gay Kennedy.* You think? I said, I said, "Well, I'm leaving, I'll drive you into the Lord Nelson." And then I thought, this is sad, he's a wreck, right? I said, well, you know, I mean, it's just like 8:30 in the morning. We've been partying at Brian's since we left work. And I said, "go and get your stuff, I'll take you out to the airport." He said, "it's gonna take me a few minutes." He said, "Come in. You can go into the dining room and have something to eat. And I'll go up and get my stuff, come down and have a bite to eat with you. Then we'll go." Well, I'm telling you, I was doing acid. The Lord Nelson, like, you know... there was a lot of old people that lived at the Lord Nelson.
>
> *Ron Bone.* I know. (laughs) It was almost me.

[66] Ron Bone recalled that the Q104 radio station promotions group may have set up this game and included the Misty Moon staff, which might also explain the Trooper / baseball game memory that Wendy Brookhouse shared.

Gay Kennedy. Yeah, I know! I go in and I sit there. Plus you know what it's like when you've been out all night and you leave the Ardmore and you're surprised it's light out and bright out. I sit down in that dining room and it was like a library.

[...]

So I'm sitting there doing acid by myself in this library and all these blue haired ladies are sitting up right in the section above me. And I'm sitting there thinking, "How long have you been gone?" You know. And then I was thinking...is it that quiet in here?

Ron Bone. No.

Gay Kennedy. Except I had no one to say it to. And Gary comes in and I said, "Isn't it quiet? Like not even a tap of a fork on a plate." Well then we were both gone. Like, roaring laughing. And then you look around and it's like, (laughing) is it just me? Or is there really not a sound? Like none? [67]

At least ten years later, though the work culture had changed at the bar, Wendy Brookhouse, a member of the door staff, recalled a story about Trooper, a band that played as regularly at the Misty Moon, as acts like Minglewood or Sam Moon. She said: "Trooper, I played baseball with Trooper and they remembered me years later."[68] This degree of familiarity is perhaps indicative of the band's authentic relationship with the owners and staff.

Geoff Palmeter was the owner of the Misty Moon from 1988-1992. This status affected his interactions with the visiting celebrities, as he noted he didn't usually fraternize with the

[67] Bone and Kennedy, interview.

[68] Wendy Brookhouse, in interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, November 1, 2020.

talent. “Typically, when I'm working. I don't really listen to the bands. ... but that, the Hip, when we put on that show I was, I was truly blown away by it. … Yeah, but some of the some of the nicest guys, some of the best bands were, I don't want to say the "has-beens" but, um, like the Nazareths of the world, or like, Trooper or BTO or Blue Oyster Cult, like just, you know, older guys who were just, you know, they're just kind of, I don't want to say milking things, but they're not selling stadiums anymore. But the most grounded, down to earth, just the nicest, nicest people you'd ever meet.” However, he did make an exception for Trooper. “I (would) always take them out for dinner, you know, one night while they were in town.”[69]

So much for the experience of the staff and musicians. But what about the patrons? Certainly the venue was large, and yet definitely more intimate than a concert at the Halifax Forum or the Metro Centre. As a patron, I recall sharing the dancefloor with Ra McGuire from Trooper, who was hanging around post-show on a Sunday night, dancing with another patron while deejay Dave Hatcher teased him over the speakers, calling him “Rah” and asking, “Just who was Jerry the Garbageman?” Missy Searl shared her favourite “brushes with fame” stories. The filming of concerts at the Misty Moon was a late addition to the venue, and added the opportunity for regular show goers to enjoy their own second of “fame”, as they perhaps were caught on camera and shown on MuchMusic.

Searl noted that MuchMusic caught her on camera at the Jeff Healey concert:

> But I'm sitting on the floor in the video as the camera’s going around, and there's me with a smoke and I think it was a MuchMusic special. Yeah, so was even on television. So all

[69] Geoff Palmeter, in interview with the author, by telephone. Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 15, 2020.

> I kept thinking was, Oh, my God, don't let my mother see me with a cigarette. And sure enough, what is the pan... When did they pan? When Missy's got a cigarette.[70]

She shared another story of making a connection with a favourite artist, through the Misty Moon, although the connection came to fruition much later, with the arrival of social media:

> Yeah, I still have my Sass Jordan ticket. She was my absolute favorite. So she came on like a Tuesday night. .... And we were on the dance floor almost the whole night. And I was, it was fabulous. That woman's voice--like Sass, I can listen to Sass all the time. […] And so she did Canadian Idol. And I connected with her on Twitter. And I sent her the picture of my ticket stub. And she was like, "Oh my God!" And then we just started communicating. It was really cool. And then she sent me a link for a book that she did with women around mindfulness and self-discovery kind of thing. So like, it's really cool, because I can, I like, literally have like, DM conversations with Sass Jordan.[71]

George Thorogood played at the Kempt Road location in August 1982, and the show was memorable enough to be mentioned by more than one narrator. However, while Thorogood is described with respect, there is not the affection nor sense of personal connection that attaches to some other celebrities. Sam Moon shared, “And I was told that George Thorogood was really friendly. I didn't see that show. But everybody says that that's the best Misty Moon performance anybody ever saw. He went down off stage and he got up on the, on the bar, which is mid room,

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[70] Missy Searl, in interview with the author, by telephone. Halifax, Nova Scotia, March 1, 2021.

[71] Searl, interview.

and started walkin' across the bar playing, playing his guitar, doing the Chuck Berry duck walk, and he just blew the roof right off the place, I guess."[72]

Allie Fineberg also notes how memorable the show was: "But he had just finished his tour with the Rolling Stones. So I mean, you know, and he put on the best show ever. Unbelievable, this man played and played and played- like, I mean, some of them were pretty lazy when they were up on stage but -- Thorogood, oh my god he delivered."[73]

2.5 Halifax's Rock Club

The narrators were clear that the Misty Moon was a *rock* club (despite its earliest cabaret acts entertainment). The 'rock' identity has implicit dimensions of maleness, whiteness, and straightness. However, the Misty Moon featured Black acts like the Platters and Tower of Power; LGBTQ acts like *a cappella* group the Nylons and Long John Baldry, whose homosexuality was a badly-kept secret; and women performers like Pam Marsh, Sass Jordan, Sara MacLachlin and Lee Aaron.

There was a heteronormative masculinity in the club's persona that emerges when doorman Ron Bone talks about protecting the woman he worked with, in dialogue with Gay Kennedy (first excerpt, below), or about slugging a lesbian who sucker punched him when he was escorting her and her date out of the club (second excerpt, below).

Ron Bone. All the girls had to do was say Ronnie. And I was there. And I don't care.

Gay Kennedy. I mean, there were some mental cases

[72] Moon, interview.

[73] Fineberg, interview.

Ron Bone. I didn't care if the girls were wrong. And it was their fault. As far as I'm concerned, it was the girls, they were the ones that were in the right, you were in the wrong, and I'll beat you up to a pulp, and I've done that many times. [...]

Yeah. Like I said, if the girls were wrong, and it was their fault, I still took the girl's side, I didn't care. And I didn't care if they were my friends either. You might have been my friend, doing something to the waitress. I don't care. You did something to the waitress, you were fucking wrong. And now I'm going to show you."[74]

So anyway, so I went up, I said to the girls, I said, "would you mind not dancing... together?" I said, "you know, find a guy or something," but, I said, "the boss," I said, "the boss is a homophobe, I don't want to fucking tell you." Well that there was no word of homophobe back in the day. So anyway, yeah, they'd sit down, said, no problem. So they sat down. Next, you know, fucking two minutes later, they're up back dancing again. And they're fucking all over each other. And I'm going, like, oh fuck, Terris goes, "Lonnie[75], get them to fucking stop." So I got up, fucking tell them, "Come on. I'm getting grief." "Okay, we won't do it no more." Not even three minutes later, they're up back dancing. And I'm like, Oh, fuck. Terris: "Lonnie, throw them out" Okay. So I go up and say, "Okay, ladies, you have to go." Okay. I get them right to the fucking door. And there's one of them. I mean, right from the ground, fucking hauls off and fucking drives me, knocked me, knocked me right to the floor. And my best friend's sitting there going, "HAHAHA." And I'm like, "Are you fucking serious? You couldn't give me a hand could

[74] Bone, interview, May 28, 2020.

[75] Whenever Ron quotes Terris, he uses "Lonnie" in imitation of Terris' Greek accent.

you?" And he's like, "No, this is fucking funny shit!" And I'm going like no, cause I'm up now and pissed, right? And I'm, I'm like, I've always had the mentality that if you swing like a guy, you want to fucking act like a guy, I'm knocking you out like a guy." [76]

Bone's attitude about the female servers is protective and paternalistic, whereas in describing the lesbian, particularly in noting how hard she punched him, his tone is that of discussing an equal - that is, another man.[77]

Gay Kennedy reminisced about helping Long John Baldry's boyfriend find a safe place to sit for the show: "He can't sit anywhere here. This is the Misty Moon, it's a bunch of goddam rednecks. He can sit up here on the front of the bar, next to the light guy, ok?"[78] It was not until late in the eighties that a woman door person is hired. There are no female managers or owners mentioned in the club's history. In perusing the list of acts, it is evident that a small percentage are women, or led by women.

The "rock club" identifier can be read as a racial divide. The racialized nature of music genres is examined in books like *Race Music* and *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music.*[79] At least two narrators noted that the Gottingen Street location was initially an African-Nova Scotian club, and on Facebook, many African Nova Scotians self-identify as past employees and patrons; however, for the bulk of its duration, most patrons were drawn from the white majority of Halifax's population.

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[76] Bone, interview, May 28, 2020.

[77] During the interviews, Ron Bone shared that one of his daughters is gay, a fact he is proud of. It is not my intention to paint him as personally homophobic, simply to point to the fact that he is a product of a time when gender roles were more heteronormative.

[78] Kennedy, interview.

[79] Guthrie P Ramsey. *Race Music*. 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California), 2003.
David Brackett. *Categorizing Sound*. 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2016.

Rather than serve a unique subculture, as many of the clubs studied have done, the Misty Moon was a mainstream venue, though a mainstream rock venue, not a fiddle and bagpipe kind of place (with the exception of the occasional visit from Nash the Slash and his violin). It was known as the "rock" bar to set it apart from the disco, pop or dance clubs in town.

It was paradoxically a 'cool' mainstream venue, of the kind that club culture analysts generally don't allow for. "Club cultures are *taste cultures*. Club crowds generally congregate on the basis of their shared taste in music, their consumption of common media and, most importantly, their preference for people with similar tastes to themselves," writes Sarah Thornton in *Club Cultures*.[80] The book is primarily about the culture of dance clubbers and raves, but it is interesting to compare her description of the way that clubs build "ad hoc communities with fluid boundaries" and "embrace their own hierarchies of what is authentic and legitimate in popular culture" with the community created around the Misty Moon, a community which included thousands of Haligonians at one point or another over time. This amorphous group could hardly be said to represent a singular demographic, let alone a singular vision of 'good music', and so the narrators describe the "Misty Moon crowd" in a variety of ways, with the short descriptor of "the rock people" being the aggregated commonality.

"Our crowd, our crowd of people were like, were rock and roll people," said Norma MacNeil,[81] who worked at all three locations.[82] She goes on to elaborate based on dress, and her

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[80] Thornton, Club Cultures. p.3

[81] MacNeil, interview.

[82] This is despite the fact that Terris was a disco fan, according to Ron Bone, which invites reflection on how far apart music genres really were. Ron Bone noted that if Terris had a favourite song, he overplayed it: "Freak or La Freak or whatever the hell it was. And Do Ya Think I'm Sexy by Rod Stewart? I was so sick and tired of hearing that. Every, every intermission that'd be the first thing he'd put on. "Do Ya Think I'm Sexy?" And I'm going, oh God Terris, please stop." (Bone, interview, May 28, 2020.)

final sentence gives a hint that even this typification is related to baby boomer demographics. "Yeah. Okay, so they were blue jeans and t-shirts kind of guys. But the Palace, when the Palace first opened was like, like dress jeans, dress pants and a shirt.[83] … We had, like we had the guys with the blue jeans on and maybe Harley Davidson t-shirts on, or like a band t-shirt. Yeah, we had the rock and rollers. Maybe like a grown up version of Woodstock."[84]

Hazel Ferguson worked the coat check in the early '80s. She found pinning down the demographics challenging: "I found at that age that I was, it was really hard to, to know, like because the, you know, 18-year-olds look like they were 25…. But, yeah, and it also depended on who was playing too. So, you know, if it was Matt Minglewood, then you'd see most of Cape Breton there. Or any of the bigger bands like Nazareth, or you know, people like I've never seen them before -- and especially at a club -- and they'd be lined up down the street and, yeah, it was quite a...quite a crowd."[85]

Paul Eisan and Ron Bone remembered that in the early years on Gottingen Street, the crowd was more African-Nova Scotian. One of the early shows was The Platters. Bone said, "Well, that's when the Misty Moon then was pretty much African American. I guess that's the correct terminology now. And because we were on Gottingen Street, that's the neighborhood it was in. And then, once Terris started bringing in rock acts like Looking Glass….but the Platters -- the Platters were huge. They were, they sold that place out every night."[86]

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[83] The Palace was one of the bars whose dress code would lead to the 1991 riots in Halifax.

[84] MacNeil, interview.

[85] Hazel Ferguson, in interview with the author by telephone. Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 15, 2020.

[86] Eisan and Bone, interview.

Sam Moon remembered that a wide variety of people were represented at the Misty Moon; ultimately it was the music that brought them together: “It was quite unique to Canada in the sense that, you know, I talked about students … and young people, but wasn't the only part of the crowd.... if a businessman came in town and hopped into cab or whatever... and say, "Where's a good place to go?" The cab driver'd say the Misty Moon. Yeah. So you'd have like older people dressed in suits. Mixed in with students..., you know, it wasn't just one age group, it was like a, and everybody got along in a typical maritime fashion, and it was quite unique… Everybody was like, who was into the music....” [87]

Allie Fineberg also said, “It depends on which band was playing,” going on to give examples like, “When BB King played, it was an older crowd. Muddy Waters played, It was an older crowd. A lot of Black people in that crowd versus, you know, somebody like Bryan Adams who didn't draw a crowd at all versus somebody that saw George Thorogood.” [88]

Ron Bone, Gay Kennedy and Allie Fineberg all noted that other bar staff tended to gravitate to the Moon. Fineberg’s description encompasses many of the players in the nighttime economy.

> I mean you had your regulars. We had a tremendous regular base. You know, all the boys from the Old Halifax would come by after, you know, like all the staff would be over there. Now that place is Jenny's but back then it was the Old Halifax and they were all you know, regulars, all the bar crowd all hung in there. Like I said, all the taxi drivers

[87] Moon, interview.

[88] Fineberg, interview.

hung there, all the drug dealers were a lot of, you know, like what you didn't see prim and proper people…[89]

There is the sheer practicality of the longer opening hours making it possible for other bar staff to enjoy being patrons for a while before heading home. Also, recalling the sense of reflected celebrity that accrues to bar staff, it is possible that there was a social hierarchy to the bars in Halifax. If the Misty Moon was perceived as a higher-positioned club, perhaps because of the level of celebrity that played there, or the money staff were able to make, other bar staff might gravitate there in a form of social aspiration.

Missy Searl did not work at the Misty Moon; her relationship with the place was as a patron only. She shared how the bar's identity aligned with her own: "I'm a Black girl, but I'm a rock girl. Yeah, like I was raised with, like, you know, Mom and Dad, listened to everything. You name it -- country, opera. It didn't matter. But you know, when we're driving for, you know, five hours, the eight tracks go in. And it's like, Fleetwood Mac, it's all of those tunes. So my first cassette … was AC/DC, Back in Black. So I'm, I'm really, I consider myself to be a rock chick. And so the Moon was, even though I love the dance music, like Secretary's or the Palace. Yeah, I really loved the bands."[90]

[89] Ibid.

[90] Searl, interview.

3. Money and Business

3.1 Money and Meaning

A second theme identified consistently across most interviews was money, either specifically cash or the economic aspects of the business. All but two mentioned how much money came through the Misty Moon, including how much bands were paid, how much they personally made, and the ways they made it. The interviewees address the financial success of the Misty Moon, and how this changed over time; how staff felt about the money they made, especially from tips; and what kind of role the Misty Moon might have played in the local music industry. Like the motif of the t-shirts that crystallized the employees' connections with musicians, there is a visual motif threading through the money memories as well: that of cash stuffed into shoeboxes or plastic bags.

At the simplest level, the Misty Moon was a business, and one of the practical dimensions used to describe a business is its financial health. In initiating interviews, I asked for memories about a place of business, and that framing might have centred the focus of narrators to describe it in financial terms. Many of the narrators were employees of the bar, and therefore the relationship was ultimately economic. However, the initiating question was specifically related to the *community* created at the Misty Moon. Through analysis, it becomes apparent that money is not simply money in these stories. There is a deeper current of meaning attached to the object "money" for the narrators, and conveyed through context and linkages – success, trust, loyalty, approval, freedom, status.

Born at the Right Time, Owram's description of the boomer generation, has no single entry for "money" in its index.[1] The growth of consumerism and increase in affluence in North America and Europe is fundamental to the world of baby boomers, and so interwoven with the generation's history that it serves as a unifying thread rather than a unique or isolated topic. In the Epilogue, Owram writes, "Finally, there was the economic affluence of the postwar years. This has been discussed at some length as a feature shaping the role and purpose of the baby boom."[2] The narrators interviewed about the Misty Moon were primarily of the boomer generation. So, was the recurrence of their money narratives simply an effect of baby boomers' inherent consumerism emerging?

In common discourse, it is typical to hear baby boomers described or referenced as if they were (and are) a homogenous wealthy cohort. For instance, the statement "baby boomers hold $2.6 trillion in buying power" appears on at least five websites with no clear ultimate source noted.[3] Websites like the *Visual Capitalist* profile that baby boomers have "more than half of U.S. household wealth towards the end of 2020. At $59 trillion, the generation holds more than ten times the amount held by a comparative number of Millennials." [4] Older people, presumably

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[1] Doug Owram. *Born at the right time.*

[2] Ibid. p.309

[3] A few of the sites, as accessed in October 2021, are https://www.lexingtonlaw.com/blog/credit-cards/baby-boomer-spending-habits.html, http://www.fona.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Baby-boomers-Trend-Insight-0518.pdf, https://www.mni.com/blog/research/generational-shopping-boomer-vs-gen-z/, https://www.franchising.com/articles/aging_population_creates_new_opportunities_for_marketers.html and https://www.datamangroup.com/dont-neglect-the-baby-boomers/

[4] Omri Wallach. "Charting The Growing Generational Wealth Gap." *Visual Capitalist.* 2020. Accessed October 16, 2021. Available from https://www.visualcapitalist.com/charting-the-growing-generational-wealth-gap/.

settled in homes, with many years of working behind them, having more money than younger people, who are earlier in their career and starting families, seems fairly commonsensical, although the wealth gap described is outsized. But the notion of the clone horde of rich boomers does not tell a full story. As with every generational cohort, people born from 1946 to 1965 were heterogeneous, with different values and socioeconomic statuses. There are averages and generalities that can be ascribed to the cohort, with the understanding that in the specific, those will break down.

It may be true that what money represents to the narrators is informed by the large boomer cohort's experience of the world and money, and also true that there is a unique story to tell when that cohort is narrowed further to boomers of this specific place, a place traditionally perceived as a "have not" province hanging off the eastern edge of Canada. This chapter will not be an economic analysis, although the Misty Moon Show Bar was impacted by the economic health of the city/province and the night-time economy that was developing. Rather, I am interested in what the recurrence of money as a story theme says about the narrators and the Misty Moon community overall, what the narrators really mean when they describe money, and what meaning money carries in the collective memory about identity.

To explore these narratives and their underlying meanings, we must look at what money meant to the narrators: its social meaning and purpose. In *The Social Meaning of Money* (1994) Viviana Zelizer sets out to explore the ways money is earmarked and assigned meaning. She argues that beyond the neutral, "colourless" notion of a fungible, liquid, infinitely divisible economic token that economists describe, money is a tool of social interactions and it takes on

different values and characteristics based on its origin, production or earmarked purpose.[5] Zelizer examined economic and sociological theorists including Marx, Simmel and Cooley, and exposes some of the ways money has been interpreted as shaping "values or social relations", being ascribed the roles of leveler, corruptor or moralizing influence, by the different parties. She notes that "the reciprocal transformation of money by values or social relations is seldom conceptualized or else explicitly rejected."[6]

3.2 Tips and Self-Reported Income

In a chapter titled "Gifted Money", Zelizer explores the contentious topic of tipping, which she describes as having been characterized as a gift, a bribe, and compensation at different times, by different actors and in different situations. She herself classes tips as gift money.[7] Earned money, Zelizer notes in several places, was more likely to be earmarked for necessities than gift money by the people receiving it. A quote Zelizer includes from *The Law Quarterly* comments that "abnormal gains produce abnormal extravagance,"[8] a statement that seems supported in the case of the Misty Moon employees. It is evident from the narrators' experiences as reported that the gratuities staff received were earmarked for consumption, and narrators report spending incautiously, supporting an extravagant "decadent" lifestyle. Money flowed to them and through them like water going downhill.

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[5] Viviana A. R. Zelizer. *The social meaning of money.* (New York : BasicBooks), 1994.

[6] Ibid, p.12

[7] Ibid, pp.94-98

[8] Ibid, p.96

Norma McNeil, Gay Kennedy, Allie Fineberg and Ron Bone all reported receiving and spending heady amounts of money, mostly from the late Gottingen Street and Kempt Road years. Ron Bone said that in the early years on Gottingen Street, he did not expect to make much money from tips, due to his perceptions of the regular crowd. However, a baseline "commission" on beers sold ensured the job offered sufficient compensation. "When I started there, that's what it was. It was an African American community. And, and they were, I'm not saying that they didn't tip but they didn't drink much either. Yeah. But Terris would always give you five cents a beer. For every beer you sold. Right. So you, it didn't matter if they didn't tip back then in the day, (or) if you got 10 cents for a tip. That was awesome."[9]

Norma MacNeil shared, "Now, the Misty Moon opened up there on... Kempt Road. Yeah. bartenders, we were guaranteed – . And I know 100% that we were getting really what we made. We were guaranteed $150 a night." [10] In today's dollars, $150 would be just over $420.[11] The staff's memories of indulging themselves are centred on daytime activities, the inverse of what those not employed in the night time economy might consider 'normal' ways to spend a lot of money. These memories centre on embedded meanings of money-as-status (show through the trappings of expensive champagne, fancy restaurants, multiple pairs of boots) and money-as-freedom (the ability to travel, exploring drugs, freedom from mundane chores like housecleaning).

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[9] Ron Bone, in interview with the author. Sackville, Nova Scotia. May 28, 2020.

[10] The syntax is challenging to parse, so it is unclear what portion of the 'guaranteed' money was tips at that point. Norma MacNeil, in interview with the author by telephone. Halifax, Nova Scotia. May 26, 2020.

[11] Calculated via the Bank of Canada's inflation calculator using the year 1981 as reference: https://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/

> *Allie Fineberg.* Like, I remember a lot of good lunches. Yeah. You know, go into the Newsroom for a lunch, you know, and spending 100 bucks, you know, between, you know, you'd order a bottle of [expensive champagne] because, no biggie. We're going to make money, you know? Yeah. And I was making my rent. I think at that point, was like 200 bucks a month. I'd be making that much during the night.' [...]
>
> All the partying.... It was – it was a good time. It was a time that you know, we were making so much money that, like, we just did whatever we wanted. You know if you want to fly up to Montreal, well, as long as it was on a Monday, Tuesday, because you needed to be there on Thursday, Friday, Saturday.[12]

The cost of this decadence and freedom, as implied by Fineberg's last line, was the expectation that staff would work five to six nights a week. Fineberg shared a story of being in a car crash that landed her in the hospital. When she returned to work a few days later, she'd been fired for not showing up. Kennedy and Fineberg noted that such 'firings' usually didn't last long, and Fineberg was rehired.[13]

> *Gay Kennedy.* … they opened a place on Spring Garden Road, the boot place? Selling boots from Montreal? Terris was renting them the space. So Ann and I were in there. I mean I had maybe two pairs of boots. [...] Ann and I were in there every day! [...]

[12] Allie Fineberg, interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 13, 2020.

[13] Ibid, and Gay Kennedy in interview with the author. Sackville, Nova Scotia, May 28, 2020.

> ... this was a short term thing, they were only in town for like three weeks. [...]Which means you only had like 21 days to go and... But I can remember. And I'd go in there every day.
>
> *Ron Bone.* See if they had something new from the day, from yesterday.
>
> *Gay Kennedy.* Oh yeah, exactly. Or get the ones that we talked ourselves out of getting the day before because you can't buy 6 pairs at once. [...] Ann got one pair, they're both for the same foot. Didn't matter, she still wore them. Pink ankle boots with high heels. And like we both had the blue ones, and the pink ones, and the white ones.

The image of a server, who would spend six to eight hours a night on her feet, purchasing something so seemingly frivolous and counterproductive as a pair of two left boots, illustrates the ridiculous extravagance the Misty Moon staff enjoyed.

Drugs were an extension of the lifestyle. Norma MacNeil described having to be cautious in putting down her drink tray so as to not disturb lines of cocaine on the table.[14] Gay shared her acid experience in the Lord Nelson.[15] Ron Bone spoke about cocaine, marijuana, and pills:

> *Ron Bone.* I used, I used to like diet pills. I liked diet pills a lot. 30 milligram ionamins? I was like addicted.
>
> *Gay Kennedy.* Yellow ones, yes. They were the best.

[14] MacNeil, interview.

[15] This is recounted in Chapter 2, Music and Celebrity, pp.56-57.

> *Ron Bone:* And I used to eat those like crazy. I'd go to sleep. I used to live in Inglis Lodge, because it was easy. They would look after my room. And I didn't have to worry about a thing, my bed would be made every day. And I just lived there, right? It cost me, I don't know, 50 bucks a week and I was making like $1500, 1600 bucks every week. I really didn't care. And I ordered out food and all that stuff in, anyway.
>
> And all the bands that we booked, stayed there. Yeah, at Inglis Lodge, right. Matt stayed there. Sam stayed there, Snake Eyes stayed there. All the bands, Spectacle stayed there. Everybody stayed there. And so I used, I used to get whacked out of my mind eating diet pills and I take Valium to put me to sleep and then I take an ion, a diet pill to wake me up so I could go to work.[16]

A few things emerge in this story. In addition to the "diet pills" and Valium, Bone describes living on restaurant food in a lodging house that offered housekeeping, essentially a hotel, where the bands stayed. In some ways this could be like never leaving work, yet with the lifestyle Bone lived, this worked. Another joke-story emerged in conversation with Paul Eisan:

> *Ron Bone.* Yeah, we made big money. I know when I worked at the club. I was doing a grand a week.
>
> *Paul Eisan*. Yeah. Is that not unbelievable?

[16] Ron Bone and Gay Kennedy, in interview with the author. Sackville, Nova Scotia, May 28, 2021.

> *Ron Bone*. And this was the 70s and ’80s. (That's...) it was a thousand dollars a week, you know, and there's nothing to spend it on other than [sniffs]... And I never liked cocaine. I just like the way it smelled![17]

Ultimately, Zelizer notes, tips have wound up as taxable income. Her conclusion, which groups tips and bonuses as “gifts of money between employers and employees or patrons and servers” intimates that tips were a form of charity, intended as gifts between strangers, but the recipients “pressed to define the bonus or the tip as an entitlement or payment.”[18] This characterization may have been based on cases similar to the taxicab company anecdote Zelizer shared. In 1917, a taxicab driver died on the job, and the Worker’s Compensation award to his parents was based on his wage plus his usual tip amount. The company appealed and the appeals court affirmed the decision: tips were part of the usual wage.[19] The narrators I interviewed did not embrace this view, particularly as applied to the idea of tips being taxable. In fact, Ron Bone expressed concern, even forty years later, about taxes on tips. Gay Kennedy shared the difference between her ‘straight day job’ pay and the money she made at the Misty Moon, and Ron Bone cautioned her about “going on the record” with the amount.

> *Gay Kennedy.* I worked... I was actually the media director at an advertising agency. And started working part time at the Moon, and […] Well, I can remember, as a media director, at an advertising agency. My yearly salary was $12,800, which was about, was about [...] three thousand dollars more than any of my friends who worked in offices at the time. I mean, I was, thought I was in the big time. I started working at the Moon at

[17] Ron Bone and Paul Eisan, in interview with the author. Petpeswick, Nova Scotia, August 2, 2020.

[18] Zelizer. *The Social Meaning*. p.98

[19] Ibid. p.98

night. For a while, for a year I worked at both. And the first year I worked at the Moon I made $81,000 in tips.

Ron Bone. I wouldn't say that on TV or radio.[20]

He made a similar comment when Paul Eisan spoke about how much he made with Spice, which is removed from the idea of tips but connects with the idea of self-reported income.

Paul Eisan. Sold out night after night. So Terris used to give us 100% of the door. When, this was on Gottingen Street.

Ron Bone. Don't tell 'em how much money you made, because-

Paul Eisan. Oh my God.

Ron Bone. The tax man.[21]

Cars as status symbols align with the "rock bar" persona associated with the Misty Moon, so it is perhaps surprising that Ron Bone did not have a car for many years. This is in part due to lifestyle but also, as this story demonstrates, an apprehension of sporting the material markers of wealth when he was not reporting his full income – a concern fostered by Terris Panagiotakos. Panagiotakos played a Yoda-like 'wise mentor' role when it came to money matters in the stories of Bone, Eric McDow, Gay Kennedy and others.

Ron Bone: I said to Terris, 'I think I'm going to go to Bob MacDonald's [Chevrolet-Oldsmobile dealer], I'm going to buy a car.'

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[20] Bone and Kennedy, interview.

[21] Bone and Eisan, interview.

> 'Good, good. You need a car.' Cuz I was paying for cabs. I had money in my jeans. I had money in my pockets every night, right? He said 'What are you gonna buy?', 'I think I'll buy a Corvette.' Terris goes, 'Really? What do you put on your T-4?'
>
> Because my T-4 didn't say anything. He didn't put down what my job description was so when I used to go to H&R Block to get my taxes done, I used to put down "dishwasher." I was the only dishwasher who walked in there with fucking $20,000 worth of diamonds on, gold, leather jacket, fucking looking like fucking Super Fly, or a pimp or whatever, right? Terris goes 'Yeah, that oughta work. Ha ha!'
>
> He says 'Yeah, you're going to jail.' It was pretty, it was pretty funny. I went, 'Jeez, I never thought of that.' So then I was looking to buy a used Mustang. And he goes, 'No, you might want to buy a sensible car.' But – and then I said, 'You know what? Maybe I'll just stick to the cabs' – because I drank way too much.[22]

The small monetary value and automatic practice of tipping for a drink would seem to belie Zelizer's assertion that donors and gift-givers have found ways to designate or earmark acceptable uses for gift money.[23] It is unlikely that a quarter tipped for a beer would come with weighty stipulations, although it is possible (perhaps even likely) that a generous tip to an attractive server would be offered with the intention of cultivating favour.

Zelizer cites historical resources asserting that tipping is socially demeaning, and introduces a power imbalance, establishing the superiority of the tipper.[24] Both Ron Bone and

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[22] Bone, interview, May 28, 2020.

[23] Zelizer. The Social Meaning of Money. p.111

[24] Zelizer. The Social Meaning of Money. p.97

Gay Kennedy stated that African-Nova Scotian[25] patrons drank less and did not tip as well. Consider the racial dynamics of Halifax's history; Black residents were disadvantaged financially, underpaid, ghettoized. The power imbalance that Zelizer names is thus, in this situation, inverted. The clubs that were primarily African-Nova Scotian, like the Club Unusual and the Arrows club, were, by all accounts, popular and well-attended. So was it the case that African-Nova Scotian patrons actually drank and tipped less? Or was this merely a perception cultivated among a small subset of Misty Moon servers? If true, why is it so?

In a 2015 article on *The Conversation*, researchers Michael Lynn and Zachary Brewster share their findings that Black patrons are not only perceived as tipping less, but evidence demonstrates they quantitatively do tip less. Income disparity and quality of service contribute to this, but one major reason Lynn and Brewster propose is that Black patrons regularly misjudge the expected tip amount to below the social norm. Most people come to learn the norms of tipping 15-20% through exposure to social settings where this is repeated. However, frequenting the restaurants where this may occur requires a social milieu at a certain level of affluence.[26] This points to a blind spot in Zelizer's original work, in its lack of intersectional analysis.

3. 3 Money and "Family"

[25] In this text, I use the terms African Nova Scotian and Black patrons/residents interchangeably. African Nova Scotian is a term used to denote the people who are from the historic Black communities in this province.

[26] Michael Lynn and Zachary Brewster. "What's behind racial differences in restaurant tipping?" *The Conversation,* 2015, cited Oct 17, 2021. Available from http://theconversation.com/whats-behind-racial-differences-in-restaurant-tipping-35889.

Relationships among staff at the Misty Moon could be portrayed in one of two related metaphors. Norma MacNeil said the staff were generally "one big happy family."[27] Throughout the interviews, there is a sense of care associated with money memories, often care that is expressed in ways that could be interpreted as parental. In particular, Terris Panagiotakos, whose business acumen is often referenced, appears as a wise, father-type figure whose favour and respect is expressed through generous compensation. An alternate reading of this business / family relationship could see Panagiotakos in a different kind of "family", as a mafia-don type figure,[28] with loyalty rewarded[29], family prized, and discretion expected.

Ron Bone's recounting of his pay at the Gottingen Street location personalizes the source of the pay he receives: "But Terris would always give you five cents a beer. For every beer you sold."[30] The phrasing and word choice portray a reward system rather than a compensation scheme. This commission policy elicited loyalty among his staff, while it also served to encourage servers to increase beer sales, in a case of "what's good for the business / family is good for the individual."

Bone shared stories of counting, transporting and paying out money (some captured in section 3.4 "Disposable" Income, beginning on p.83) that tended to emphasize the position of

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[27] MacNeil, interview.

[28] Rumours have associated the Misty Moon with organized crime; however, my interviews did not support this, and Geoff Palmeter openly refuted it. Which is to say, when I say Terris Panagiotakos was a mafia don-type figure, I am stating this purely in an archetypical, metaphorical sense. I have no reason to believe the Panagiotakos family were part of any organized crime syndicate.

[29] The reaction to disloyalty was not violence but threatened court action, as in Ron Bone's story found on p.104, about Dutch Mason being booked at a rival bar, Lucifer's.

[30] Bone, interview.

trust he held, and demonstrate his loyalty, like a lieutenant or favoured son. He was a de facto assistant manager until younger Panagiotakos brother Louis assumed the role.

> And I respected Louis and I would have done, and – I did, I did, I did everything for Louis everything that Louis needed done. I was still that guy. As I would have been for Terris, Peter and Andy. And, never bothered me. And there was no, there was no animosity there. Even because, before Louis showed up, Terris used to tell, "this is Ronnie, my assistant manager." Right. And then when Louis came in, Louis was that guy, and I was okay with it.[31]

Eric McDow, drummer of Spice and band booking agent, recalled refusing an opportunity to book Spice to play at the Palace (before it was owned by the Panagiotakos family). He refused because of the band's relationship with Terris. In this passage, McDow's motivations seem to drift from loyalty to enlightened self-interest to a fear of boasting, to a fear of being judged indiscreet. Tellingly, his opening and closing thoughts mention Terris.

> ... we were very, we were unbelievably loyal to Terris, well it's not loyal. We just played for him. He gave us a great break and treated us well, it's legendary. I don't want to talk. I'll tell you why. I don't want to speak about money. Off the record I would tell you but since we're talking about all this, but I really am averse to being looked at as "Oh, who's he, boasting?" I don't, I don't, I really don't and it's, whether it's that or not, that's how I think. If I, if I said to Terris, I was talking to somebody about the Misty Moon, and they

[31] Bone, interview May 28, 2020.

asked me how much money you paid us,[32] so I told them. I think he would say, "Interesting. Why would you do that?" Yeah. I'm thinking, Well, why would I?[33]

Terris' opinion and regard influence McDow, whose own business acumen is remarked upon by other narrators. One of the stories both he and Scott Rogers recounted are of an audit conducted on McDow and several of the bands he booked. He was so well prepared, the auditor told Rogers that he'd learned things from McDow.[34]

Terris Panagiotakos had a longstanding friendship and rivalry with fellow bar owner Seymour Offman, who owned Lucifer's/the Matador on the Dartmouth side.[35] Both Ron Bone and Eric McDow describe being cajoled into joining Panagiotakos on drives to check on business at Offman's bar.[36] The two met regularly for breakfast at the Ardmore Tearoom, according to Norma MacNeil.[37] Eventually, according to Andy Panagiotakos, he and his brothers purchased the Palace, another downtown cabaret, from Seymour Offman.[38] Ron Bone and Gay Kennedy recounted what Terris' relationship with Offman looked like, ending with a glimpse of the

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[32] McDow was repeating a conversation he had had with a local podcaster. I did not ask any interviewee how much money they made.

[33] McDow, interview.

[34] McDow, interview and Rogers, interview.

[35] Freeman Joseph, of Freeman's Little New York restaurant / lounge, was also mentioned as a third Godfather-like figure of the Halifax bar scene, but the relationship with Offman was more emphasized.

[36] Bone, interview May 28, 2020 and McDow, interview.

[37] MacNeil, interview.

[38] Andy Panagiotakos, "Misty Moon Thesis – Andy Panagiotakos.pdf." Written responses to questions, in the author's possession. November 24, 2020.

sentimentality underlying the relationship between the two: a final statement of care and respect, demonstrated financially.

> *Ron Bone.* I'd show up at the bar on my night off, and he'd go, 'let's go for drive.' Really? We're going to the Matador again? *'Cross the bridge.'*
>
> *Gay Kennedy.* 'Go by Freeman's. Go by the Matador.'
>
> *Ron Bone.* And we count, we count how many cars were in the fucking parking lot.
>
> *Charlene Boyce.* Check out the competition?
>
> *Ron Bone.* Right? and I'm sitting there going, seriously?
>
> *Gay Kennedy.* "Why didn't you just phone them?"
>
> *Ron Bone.* Yeah, "why don't you call?"
>
> *Gay Kennedy.* And you'd make the Ardmore Breakfast with him too!
>
> *Ron Bone.* Seymour and him had a very competitive nature. Well, different bars, same bars – right, same idea. When Seymour Offman died – this is no word of a lie – Terris catered his funeral. He paid for it. That's the kind of respect… [...] that's the kind of, each other, because Terris owned, Terris owned Kempsters then, right? Yeah. And when Seymour passed away, Terris catered his, his funeral and paid for it himself.[39]

The way the interviewees described Terris' business and personal dealings carried an enormous sense of respect and affection. The man himself gathers a lustre of old-world honour, and there is a sense that the way he conducted business is far removed from practices taught in the MBA classroom.

[39] Bone and Kennedy, interview.

3.4 “Disposable” Income

The arresting visual motif of money stuffed in shoeboxes or plastic bags emerged in Ron Bone’s narration in several points. Similar stories also were shared by Allie Fineberg and Norma MacNeil. With tangible, material wealth thus captured in a valueless, trash container, the impression is conveyed that money is so abundant, common and ubiquitous that it can be treated like refuse. It is likely true that the bar did use these inexpensive and easily obtainable items to transport cash, although Paul Eisan also mentions cloth Royal Bank bags in one interview. It is equally likely that the image arrested the imaginations of the staff who were struck by the contrast between container and contents, and awestruck by the sheer volume of cash, certainly in retrospect if not in situ.

> *Ron Bone.* Yeah, well, we made so much money. We bought a bill counter. But before that, down on Gottingen Street? They didn't have them. We used to count, we'd sit there counting money [...] We wrapped them and everything. You know, thousand dollars a wrap and we'd be counting twenties, thousand dollars a wrap. [...] Like I won't tell you a dollar figure but I remember, we had a lot of shoe boxes back in the day.
>
> I remember going to Terris's house [...] going there on a Monday morning, count money, and not leave until quarter to three. And go to the bank, Terris and I would go to the bank. And we would walk, Terris, we'd both walk into the bank, Terris'd be

holding the shoe box, which we had a lot of back in the day. Probably only one shoe box.[40]

And in another interview, Bone mentioned again, “Oh, he was just, like I said, I remember going to the banks on Monday morning with Terry, or Monday afternoon after we gathered it, because we counted it all by hand then. And nothing to have $100,000 in a shoe box.”[41][42]

Allie Fineberg describes working at the bar on a typically busy night:

> [T]he cash registers would be full and I remember Kathy, because Kathy used to work the centre bar, Kathy just literally like, there would be garbage bags underneath the bar, and you’d just literally be picking up like wadfuls of money and just sticking it into the bags. Oh my God and then you know [...] was put in the green garbage bags or the blue ones, the blue ones you could see through. You know, I'll never see money like that again, no, never, that was decadence. Absolutely decadence. Yeah. You know, the whole lifestyle was absolutely decadent.[43]

Norma MacNeil also says, “Okay, so you're collecting the money for that, but we didn't have time to take it to the till. Louis used to come around like with, fuck - SOBEY'S bags. Here

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[40] Bone, interview May 28, 2020.

[41] Bone, interview August 2, 2020.

[42] An interesting inversion of this trope is a story Eric McDow told. McDow loved junk food and had a fascination with heavy road cases, which are custom heavy duty carriers for musical instruments. He described his band mates Eisan and King custom ordering him an expensive Clydesdale road case to hold his Coca Cola and potato chips.

[43] Fineberg, interview.

goes the money. 'Can you just throw all this money in there?'"[44] Compare Scott Rogers' account of being paid for his band's gig at the Surf Club, which features the same sense of an overwhelmingly abundant amount of cash, but no plastic bags or shoeboxes:

> Yeah, you know, we'd get paid in cash. I remember playing the, the Surf Club, which was a great club to play. And another place that had its kind of own clientele, you know, there were members and that, and that sort of thing. And Bob and Tapper ran it and they were great guys to work for and I remember Tapper taking me over to the bar and I forget what he's paying, it's 2400 bucks or something. Anyway, so he's got this... Now, the Surf Club had cash registers. You know, every, there wasn't just one cash register, they had quite a few. This was one. He pulled a wad of twenties out of there, would choke a horse. I'm telling you, starts counting it off. Pays me out of that cash register, all cash.[45]

Rogers also commented on his band's longevity, "Geez, we were around for about 18 years. But you could make a living back then." "You know, they, we, we handled it as a business really, you know, in and out quick, never get drunk on stage or anything, and, and, you know, handled the money, like a business, paid ourselves a salary. And it was a good time for musicians."[46]

The cumulative effect of the many stories about how abundant and available money gives a languorous sense of hedonism, which makes the nostalgic tones of the narrators' stories – "We'll never see money like that again" – doubly poignant. Spice played at the Kempt Road location the Easter weekend of 1981, and the amount they were paid was described by Eric

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[44] MacNeil, interview.

[45] Rogers, interview.

[46] Ibid.

McDow as "legendary."[47] That payout was also mentioned by Ron Bone, McDow's bandmate Paul Eisan and even Scott Rogers, another musician. McDow was unwilling to go on record saying the amount, but in my interview with Eisan and Bone, the latter named a dollar amount.

> *Paul Eisan.* … So anyways, he [Terris] says- "We moved to Kempt Road," he says, "I can't give you 100% of the door, I'll give you 75% of the door." So we said sure but overall –
>
> [...]
>
> *Ron Bone.* 1500 people a night.
>
> *Paul Eisan*. And we played nine nights in a row for the Easter thing, like Good Friday and everything. Oh my god, it was crazy.
>
> *Ron Bone*. Kevin [MacMichael, another band member] went home with a shoebox full of money, something like $22,000.
>
> *Paul Eisan.* Oh it was just unbelievable. They had Royal – they – Terris – Peter had Royal Bank bags – the cloth, with the money in it. Floyd [King, the fourth band member] had gone away and he said "Jeez well if there's any – do I owe you any more money, when I get…" Because we had given him $3,000. He said, "Well, if I owe you any more money I'll pay you back when I get home." So he came home from the big trip. We gave him another couple grand.[48]

[47] McDow, interview.

[48] Bone and Eisan, interview.

In another interview, Bone recalled Kevin MacMichael's reaction to the money: "And Kevin got paid at the end of the Sunday night. And in a shoe box. Kevin went home and he laid it out on his bed and it covered his whole bed. And he was like [swimming gestures]."[49] In McDow's recollection, backed up by his own records, the band played five nights: "So we played Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, closed Good Friday, we played Saturday. And Terris did not have to be closed on Sunday, but he was. So we played five nights." The amount he disclosed off the record was close to Bone's account: essentially the purchasing power equivalent of a middle-class year's salary, delivered in a shoebox.[50]

A story by Bone describes the Powder Blues looking for a guard to help them transport their earnings to their vehicle. The story again revolves around a large amount of cash, played off as "nothing" by the blasé Bone. Bone entertains with the story, and the humour is based on an of-the-time "macho" idea of masculinity, and the idea that a man would require an escort for "just" that amount when Bone regularly carried out the bar's cash earnings, described as over $100,000:

> 1500 seats. They were there for Thursday, Friday and Saturday night. Yeah. So we gave 'em the door. Tickets were like five bucks or six bucks a head, right, back in the day. That's all it was. Right? So at the end of the night or the, Saturday night, they're, they're ready to leave, the road manager – because we dealt with a lot, a lot of the bands and the road managers and all that, because that's who, you know, that's who we dealt with. And the road manager come up to me, he goes, "can I get an escort to my vehicle?" I said,

[49] Bone, interview May 28, 2020.

[50] McDow, interview.

> “Why's that?” He goes, "You know, I got, I got paid tonight and I got a lot of money.” “Yeah, okay. How much money?” “So I've, I got $35,000.”
>
> So that's fuck all, that.
>
> I said, "We go to the, we go to our car with 100 grand.” And he's panicking. He's going, “seriously?” He goes like, “you don't have guns or anything like that?” “Well, we might have guns, but we're not telling you that.”
>
> Right.
>
> He's going … Seriously, for 35 grand. And he goes, “So you wouldn't escort us to our car?” “Yeah, if you want us to, but we don't normally.” But normally I've walked out of there like on a Saturday or Sunday night, like going to Terris's house the next day carrying a hundred grand.[51]

3.5 The Well Dries Up

The giddy sense of abundance and stories of piles of cash come to an abrupt end in the late 1980s, around the time that the Panagiotakos' sold the Misty Moon to Geoff Palmeter. The economic and competitive landscape may have changed; the relationships between staff and management certainly had. The loyalty and full-time work, and rewards in terms of the free flow of abundant cash, are missing from these staff accounts. A generational split between the managerial style of respected and awe-inspiring Terris Panagiotakos and business graduate Palmeter showed up in the ways staff spoke about their work.

[51] Bone, interview May 28, 2020.

Wendy Brookhouse and Hazel Ferguson worked for Geoff Palmeter at the Misty Moon. Both had affection for the institution of the Misty Moon, but do not describe their jobs with the same all-in enthusiasm and loyalty as earlier Moon employees. Where narrators like Kennedy, Bone, Fineberg and MacNeil described a life built around the Misty Moon, Brookhouse and Ferguson each describe it as their second job. Brookhouse said, "...I was working. I had a pretty responsible job, but it paid nothing, like so I don't, you know, $17,000 a year, really big, responsible job, but they wouldn't give you any more. So it was really a means to make sure that I had money to spend more than anything else."[52] Ferguson also reported, "I've always had a full-time job so it was just a little extra money to support my lifestyle."[53]

Ferguson added, "I collected at the door, collected cover charge on the weekends – and also in the coat check. … But yeah, so we didn't have a huge coat check. So that always became an issue for us because of, you know, getting tips. .... And we weren't really supposed to charge people, but we used to charge 50 cents... (laugh) just to make, make a few bucks. [...] Our main goal was to make a lot of money with that coat check."[54] For contrast, when I asked Gay Kennedy whether the Kempt location had a coat check, she replied, "Yup. I ran it my first year there. Judy Gallant and I ...gave the Greeks 10%. I made a fortune."[55]

There is an inherent shift in the prevailing attitude about money, and a perceived power balance between customers and staff in these stories. Kennedy was empowered to essentially set up an entrepreneurial venture and pay a portion to the owners. Ferguson was told not to charge.

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[52] Wendy Brookhouse, in interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, November 1, 2020.

[53] Hazel Ferguson, in interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 15, 2020.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Kennedy, interview.

Conditions like liability and changing customer expectations are probably part of this paradigm shift.

Although I did not have the opportunity to interview Terris Panagiotakos, I did interview Geoff Palmeter. His interview attested to a man who has dwelt on what went wrong, and what he might have changed. It is likely he does not carry this lugubrious attitude throughout his regular life. The circumstance of being asked about the Misty Moon would surface and focus these memories. However, his very clear itemization of all the things that may have contributed to the bar's downfall spoke of a man who has reflected at length on the subject. He was in his twenties when he bought the bar, fresh out of a business program at Acadia, and when the Misty Moon closed, it must have felt like a failure, before the time when business students were exhorted to "fail fast and fail often."

He recalled financial details with precision. These stories from Fineberg[56] and Palmeter demonstrate the contrast in attitudes about money: a man who philosophically shrugs off a huge loss versus a man who thoughtfully contrasts two similar situations, diagnoses the challenge and recognizes he cannot control for this variable.

> *Allie Fineberg.* "I remember one time, I forget who was playing, but for whatever reason, it didn't draw a crowd. And I remember Peter [Panagiotakos] saying, it's like, "oh,

[56] Fineberg's memory for numbers may be suspect: she insisted that the cost of getting in to see George Thorogood was high, $75 a ticket, but others noted that cover charge was never that high. Since that could be a ticket price for a Casino show today, it is probable that the number is incorrect.

> I lost 80,000 bucks this weekend". He goes, "Oh, no big deal, make it up next weekend.""[57]

> *Geoff Palmeter.* "I brought The Box in for three nights. And we ended up... I think I paid about $20,000 for three nights. And we did about $22,000 on the door. So it was successful. They wanted to come back and do four nights in the spring. So, you know, it's a pretty, pretty safe bet. Yeah. Well, they came in to do the four nights for $25,000. And we had a snowstorm for four days and I took in $5000 on the door."[58]

Palmeter shared a number of suggestions for the factors that contributed to the change in how the business fared: a clampdown on drinking and driving, the advent of the GST, interest rates going up, the draught war[59], a change in culture. Palmeter cited a noticeable change in patron expectations and behaviour.

> [P]rior to that, you know, the downtown scene was amazing. Like really dynamic, you know, places were busy, you know, six nights a week. [...] it was a tough old business because people really didn't want to...They didn't want to pay cover. The most I could ever charge – I charged $8 for Jeff Healey – but the most, other than that, I could ever charge was $6.[60] And people would gripe at that! I think a lot of it, Charlene, was, was so

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[57] Fineberg, interview.

[58] Palmeter, interview with the author, by telephone. Halifax, Nova Scotia. June 15, 2020

[59] In the late 80s, for a brief time, bars engaged in a price war, dropping the price of draught beer to around 35 cents in my personal memory.

[60] McDow said he has a photo of the Moon's marquee that shows that the cover charge to see Spice – a local Beatles tribute band – was $10 in 1981. That is a notable shift downward in consumer price tolerance over seven or eight short years.

> culture, so culture-driven. Yeah. And, you know, just the age of baby boomers and the drinking and driving. Yeah, those really were two, I think the two biggest factors.[61]

Some of the changes Palmeter mentioned, particularly a more responsible attitude toward drinking and driving and a change in attitudes toward spending money, may relate to the aging of the baby boom generation, as he noted. By 1988, the oldest baby boomers were 42, and the youngest were 23. The bulk of the generation had started families and taken "straight" jobs. This would predictably have an effect on the health of the night-time economy. In *Music in the Marketplace*, Cameron describes in economic terms the effects of age on music consumption, pointing to factors including competing responsibilities, change in tastes (to a more 'univore' palette), age-related substitution effects, self-restriction based on perceptions of 'age-appropriateness', and even changes in hearing abilities.[62]

Palmeter described the last few years of the Misty Moon's operations. His story conveys an acceleration in the shifting economic fortunes of the club.

> Well, first year I made a lot of money… Everything was bank loans. Yeah. I figured I'd prepay, prepay the loan. Yeah. And it was, I think I put about $300,000 down on the loan. ... Second year, second year made a little bit of money. The third year things got really tight with, that was the whole GST and, and interest rates going up? So it was getting tougher and tougher. You know, karaoke was becoming big. So, and the draught wars and stuff so, to me the writing was kind of on the wall. I needed a, an injection of cash to,

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[61] Palmeter, interview.

[62] Samuel Cameron. *Music in the Marketplace: a social economics approach.* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge), 2015.pp.126-128

> you know, renovate and to, you know, to change it, because it gets stale after a while. Yeah. I didn't have a whole lot of money, at that time, so I went to Jerry Khoury who owned the Palace and asked him if he wanted to buy it. So, so, I sold it to him.
>
> Jerry had it for about a year and a half and it didn't work for him. And then, Ralph Medjuck, who owned the building, took it over. And he called it The Roxbury.
>
> After the club became The Roxbury, it shut down in less than a year.[63]

Ralph Medjuck is a well-known developer and businessman in Halifax. He owned successful hospitality businesses including the Citadel Inn, the Prince George, the Lord Nelson Hotel, and Cambridge Suites. Whether or not he was truly interested in building a lasting nightclub business, the fact that the business failed suggests that Palmeter's diagnoses of cultural and economic change may have been accurate.

Another factor Palmeter didn't mention was the effect of changes to popular music, the demand for live music, and the type of live music in demand. These may well have contributed to the decline of the Misty Moon. In 1992, Greg Clark opened The Double Deuce on Hollis Street, a bar focused on 'indie' or underground music, "and it became the first club that could actually support itself predominantly on local talent," according to Barclay, Jack and Schneider in *Have Not Been the Same*.[64] Barclay's analysis is focused on the so-called underground scene, which might explain statements like "the inherent lack of live-music events," explained because the nearest major city, Montreal, is an "arduous 15-hour drive away." He also says "most

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[63] Palmeter, interview.

[64] Barclay. *Have not been the same.* p.500

Canadian bands avoided it [the long trek to Halifax] because they couldn't reap the financial benefits of the bigger acts."[65] As noted earlier in this thesis, some very notable acts other than the few Barclay mentions had indeed made this journey. It is likely there were other factors affecting the number who chose this route. These might relate to shifts in touring practices like types and amount of equipment used and record companies' willingness to support tours, the latter factor hinted at in Josh O'Kane's *Nowhere with You,* a book about Joel Plaskett. However, a full exploration of music industry changes in the 1990s will carry us beyond the scope of this work.

The taste of the young people who were more likely to attend live music events[66] had begun to shift to the kinds of music that were garnering Halifax a reputation as the "new Seattle." In 1992, record company executives were visiting the city looking for new talent, and they were finding it in bars like the Double Deuce. The Misty Moon was *old.* It may well have suffered from what Samuel Cameron, in *Music in the Marketplace*, labels *snob* and *bandwagon* effects. The bandwagon effect describes when "your utility rises when other people's consumption of a good rises." The snob effect is the opposite: your utility decreases as consumption by others rises.[67] It is the same phenomenon as the more recent 'hipster' motto, "I liked them before anyone had heard of them." The 'bandwagon' in Halifax music in 1991 was indie, and its fans, potentially of a generation tired of having their tastes dictated by the baby boom generation,

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[65] Ibid. p.493

[66] Samuel Cameron in *Music in the Marketplace* explains many of the challenges of attributing isolated age effects to both music consumption and specifically genre preferences, but then lays out a compelling set of studies that indicate that live music consumption declines with age, and snobbery effects increase with age.

[67] Cameron. *Music in the Marketplace*.p.112

might have experienced ‘snobbery’ toward the regular rock acts that played at the Misty Moon, a club they might associate with their parents or older relatives. Likewise, the regular patrons of the Misty Moon might have progressed toward a more “univore” musical taste palette, to use Cameron’s term,[68] and thus felt snobbery toward other musical genres.

In the “Consumption of Music” chapter, Samuel Cameron’s *Music in the Marketplace* applies economic theory to describe the fluctuation in, for instance, preference for live music. “Many people will experience a loss of value if the venue is very sparsely attended,” is one of the social features Cameron cites, explaining by describing how this can be a “proxy for low popularity”, which may lead to experiencing “the stigma of having deviant tastes.”[69] He goes into the choices consumers may make between genres and fusions between genres, with the economic assumptions of limited choice. These economic assumptions are not based in the messiness and infinite variables of real-world situations. He acknowledges that “There may be complex synergic effects of concurrent combinations of characteristics.”[70]

The combinations of characteristics in this case are easy to project. In 1981, the Misty Moon was hosting world class acts in a busy, newly renovated location. It was seemingly awash in cash and had a recognized cadre of loyal, satisfied employees who felt like a family. By 1991, almost every aspect of this had changed.

3.6 Circuit of Commerce

[68] Ibid. p.130

[69] Ibid. p.106

[70] Ibid. p.108

In 2011's *Economic Lives: How Culture Shapes the Economy*, Viviana Zelizer explores the ways that culture and consumption intersect and entwine.[71] While other works, like Tilly & Tilly's *Work Under Capitalism* explore some of the meanings of money and compensation working from production and transaction,[72] Zelizer's work forms a better basis for my analysis. She theorizes about a model she calls "circuits of commerce"[73], which I will apply to an analysis of the role of the Misty Moon in the extended music industry in Halifax from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. The four elements she applies to these circuits are: "a well-defined boundary with some control over transactions crossing the boundary; a distinctive set of transfers of goods, services, or claims upon them occurring within the ties; distinctive media; and ties among participants having some shared meaning."[74] This is a simplification of a model she shares earlier in the same work, and the one she applies specifically to commercial circuits.[75]

The extended music scene in Halifax as described by the narrators in the period of roughly the mid-70s to the mid-80s involved studios, radio stations, music venues such as the Misty Moon, and of course, musicians. Among and between these players there existed a circuit of commerce that involved traditional money, but also personal favour-trading, equipment sharing, talent exchange, access opportunities and barters. Favours, access, tickets and "rock passes" were forms of tender to be used in this network of individuals that shared a vision of musical success, common tastes, personal ties, and an inherent respect for the work of music in

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[71] Viviana A. R. Zelizer, *Economic lives: how culture shapes the economy.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2013.

[72] Chris Tilly. *Work under capitalism.* Edited by Charles Tilly. (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press), 1998.

[73] Zelizer. *Economic lives*. p.318

[74] Ibid. p.320

[75] Ibid. p.311

this city. Bar patrons and music fans would be on the outside of this circuit, and to some extent, they would themselves form a media of currency.

3.6.1 Well-defined boundary

Local currencies, one example Zelizer cites in Economic Lives, are often "geographically circumscribed circuits of commerce."[76] Geography could be one constraint on the Halifax music scene circuit of commerce. For the most part the institutional, structural parts of the circuit - the studios, the media, the bars - were place-based. Bars that featured live music were a distinct subset among the pubs, taverns and other drinking establishments. Other promoters might set up shows in the area, or other musicians travel in, but these would require local connections: union approval to play, local equipment, opening acts, and so on.

While musicians may have travelled far afield, touring across the region, country, or internationally, musicians' union membership would anchor them geographically. The number of *units* of musicians, ie, the number of bands and solo performers, at any given time could fluctuate, and as Eric McDow described in the excerpt below, over time that number increased, until it eventually weakened the circuit. There would be a control over entry into the circuit, as these bands would need to be booked at a venue, or find somewhere to record. They would need to form the personal bonds that formed the tensile grid upon which the music scene in Halifax is based.

[76] Ibid. p.319

After Spice broke up, Eric McDow turned to booking other bands. Ron Bone said,

> I remember sitting in his basement, like, he used to have his office in his basement where his bedroom was and all that. And that's where everybody went, he lived in his mother's house. […] And you'd go over there and somebody would call him up on the contract for you know, to book the band and they go, "Yeah, well, you know, 35 or, or $3,500, $4,000 is a lot of money for one night." Eric would go, "Okay. You might not book me, but somebody else will." And in the same town, yeah. And all of a sudden you go, "Okay, go ahead. You got 4000 bucks." [77]

McDow recalls how he started, rhyming off names that resonate with Nova Scotia music fans: "I started with The Press. And then Terry [Hatty] asked me if I'd book his band. And then Sam Moon asked me, so I booked Sam Moon from 1983 to 1984. All of his dates. … So I had about 30 bands, ...and every week 26 of them were working."[78] These were members of the circuit, all familiar with McDow, as were the bar owners he was booking bands with. McDow took on bands based on relationships.

Zelizer says local currency circuits tend to be socially homogenous[79]. It can be extrapolated that most of the actors in this theoretical circuit of commerce were white, shared an age cohort (most were likely baby boomers), and overwhelmingly male. This is based on the musicians and other actors specifically named by the narrators. There is a rich music history among African Nova Scotians but the documented fact of historic racism among club owners and

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[77] McDow, interview

[78] Ibid.

[79] Zelizer. *Economic Lives*. p. 320

in general meant that for the most part, the African Nova Scotian community made its own scene. It is likely there was a parallel circuit of commerce in that community among the musicians and other actors in the scene – Bucky Adams owned the Club Unusual and was a renowned musician. His son Corey is also a respected musician, and booked bands for clubs.

3.6.2 A distinctive set of transfers of goods and services

If the fluid exchange of musicians' talents, gigs, sound technicians, entertainment value to attract patrons, tickets, commercial opportunities, security services, media coverage, advertising, and favours didn't form a perfect virtuous circle, it came close. With the Misty Moon and a few other venues bringing in big name acts, more traditional money was infused into the circuit, leading to more opportunities for local bands and all their suppliers.

The clockwork of this system of personal connections, favours and suppliers is demonstrated in the memories narrators shared. Scott Rogers described recording an album with Rox:

> *Scott Rogers.* Yeah, we recorded over at Solar, which Russ Brannon[80] owned. We recorded at both studios. We recorded at the one when they were on Wyse Road in Dartmouth and then when he moved to Cunard and Hunter, I think we finished the album up over there. Harold Tsistinas,[81] who's passed now, was the engineer, he was a great

[80] Russ Brannon is a musician as well as owning the studio: http://russbrannon.com/.

[81] Well-known for his role as engineer at Solar, Harold is also mentioned by in the Bone/Kennedy interview. He played saxophone with a band called Zylan briefly in the early 70s: http://citizenfreak.com/artists/105661-zylan. Notable: Harold Tsistinas also has his own permanent record in the Dalhousie University archive: https://findingaids.library.dal.ca/tsistinas-harold

> guy. They really … they'd give you some more time. We could only afford so much studio time, you know. [...] We had everything rehearsed, and turned out to be you know, not a bad album. We got some good airplay on local channels here, which was nice. You know, Q104 was just new. And they had their act, you know, Hal Harbour, I remember doing an interview there [...] You know, but that was good, you know, the local stations got behind it. [...] I mean, but it was just again, part of the whole thing. [...] And buying music and renting gear like or buying gear and renting gear like crazy. You know, I mean, Russ Brannon's got to be a rich man. But a real nice guy. Yeah, you know, and his wife was very nice.[82]

There are many "distinctive goods and services" named in this excerpt – extra time at the studio, an exchange with media of content for coverage, gear (buying and renting), talent, expertise, advice, support. Q104, the radio station Rogers names, had a strong relationship with the cabaret as it featured the type of music the Misty Moon was primarily known for, particularly in the latter half of its existence. The station sponsored the "Misty Moon Rock Pass." In a cross-promotion strategy, the rock pass promoted the cabaret while encouraging its patrons to listen to Q104 for opportunities to win. These were also distributed through other networks representing potential patrons of both the bar and the station, including local varsity athletes.

Solar Studio, Russ Brannon and especially Harold Tsistinas are mentioned by other narrators. McDow, whose memory for detail, supported by his extensive personal archives, is noted by other narrators, recalls what Tsistinas made as Spice's soundman in 1980, as compared to what others were making at the time:

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[82] Rogers, interview.

> At the Misty Moon, soundmen used to get... $300 was a lot of money, those days, right. My first job out of high school before I went to university, was working at Maplehurst Apartments. 19.... No, yeah, that's right. Out of high school, that was 1970. So this was '80, it was 10 years later, but still was $76 a week, you know, that's what people made! So, it's, $300 was a lot of money for a soundman. We use Harold Tsitinas, who was a recording engineer at Russell Brannon's studio. He was our soundman. We liked him. And we gave him $1,000 a week.[83]

Terris Panagiotakos offered generous compensation to Spice, who in turn paid this well-known and sought-after engineer well, despite McDow describing the band's stage gear set up as minimal – no racks of amps or fancy lights. The band travelled light and used makeshift lighting. The engineer offered extra studio time to other bands, like Rox. Rox and Spice provided the Misty Moon and other venues with both license compliance and a way to attract patrons.

CBC was supportive of local music as part of its mandate, although its oeuvre and the Misty Moon's may not have shared a generous overlap. The CBC's recording studio was a popular option for musicians who also contracted with CBC for session gigs.

> Gay Kennedy played a song on her phone by Chalice, one of Paul Eisan's early bands.
>
> *Ron Bone.* There it is, there's Chalice there. That's Mike Schlotzsky playing drums. That's from CBC. So the boys like Paul [Eisan], Bob Quinn, he, he got to work with a lot with CBC 'cause all the boys in the CBC, because they were doing all these TV shows. So we

[83] McDow, interview. (According to the Bank of Canada's Inflation Calculator, this would be about $2800 in 2021 dollars.)

> go down and watch them, you know, do all the TV shows, the CBC, and they've made, they made a fortune back then. They made tonnes of money. And they would pay for production and everything right? Those were the days. That was one of the, that was, great tune. [84]

Again, the pattern of distinctive goods and services is recognizable here, through access to opportunities and experiences like watching shows be taped, production costs covered, and in exchange, CBC fulfills its mandate. Sometimes the services exchanged reached outside the creative music scene into the commercial – that is, literally, the production of commercials, gigs obtained through contacts in the circuit.

> *Ron Bone.* There wasn't a radio commercial that Paul Eisan didn't sing. ...in the late or late 70s, early '80s. Like I said, there was not a radio commercial, you didn't hear on the radio that wasn't Paul Eisan. You know City Cycle, when, when the motorcycle shop was down on Gottingen Street? That was Paul.
>
> *Gay Kennedy.* Sobeys
>
> *Ron Bone*. Sobeys, anything. I remember while Bob [Quinn] was doing the Sobeys thing, when they were doing this, this commercial, they got all these local bands, well not local. They, like, local choirs from all the grade six schools to go and do, go and sing. To try to do that. It was that.
>
> *Charlene Boyce.* Not the Star of Christmas?

[84] Bone and Kennedy, interview.

Ron Bone. Yes.[85]

Commercial work would afford musicians more connections and opportunities, and occasionally, as in this case, a chance to contribute to a different piece of Nova Scotia's cultural heritage.

3.6.3 Distinctive media

Distinctive media is how Zelizer describes any accounting method or tokens of exchange used in a commercial circuit. Tickets and "rock passes" were some forms of tender associated with the Misty Moon in particular and the music scene in a larger sense. Two more important forms in the context of these interviews are access and experiences / stories. The former two describe a tangible currency that could be distributed as exchange for future favours or favours past, a way to guarantee patrons for particular musicians, a shared sponsorship opportunity given to radio or newspapers in exchange for promotion.

Access is described in Chapter 2 – Music and Celebrity, and access itself led to another, perhaps the ultimate, currency: story, the distilled essence of experience that could be spent many times over with different exchange partners, without losing value. When Ron Bone got the opportunity to serve as security to Van Halen, he gained an opportunity to himself "perform", both in the moment to Freeman Joseph, a club owner rival of the Panagiotakoses, and since, performing the story many times over. Allie Fineberg mentioned the story, exhorting me to ask Bone to tell it. In the story, he mentions a Paul Goreham from whom he seems to have acquired extra details, in a way adding "interest" – as in, extra earned value.

[85] Bone and Kennedy, interview.

Ron Bone. When Van Halen showed up in town… all the doormen were their security.

Charlene Boyce. Oh no way.

Ron Bone. We ended up being their security. Yeah. Wow. Yep. They hired everybody that worked at the Misty Moon to be their security through the daytime.

Charlene Boyce. That's cool.

Ron Bone. Yeah, it was pretty cool. David Lee Roth come out of the hotel, said, "boys," he said, "I'm gonna go for a walk to the mall, and no one's gonna know it's me." And I remember Paul Gore-, Goreham telling me these stories, and yeah, and David Lee Roth said, "Boys, no one will ever know it's me." Fucking big flowing hair fucking scarves and all that shit. Pink fucking tight pants and oh, yeah, no, no, no one's gonna know it's me. And then, and David, Diamond Dave was Diamond Dave, but I remember, we went up to Anthony's Pizza House. It was like, well, like Freeman's place at the time. And, and he walked in there and he was so fucking normal talking to his road manager – was like, like we're talking right now – was not being, not, being the showman. Yeah. And it was like, Holy fuck there's a different side to him. Yeah, yeah and it was like – wow, really weird, right? Freeman's going, "Who is he, who is he?" I said, "Well that's, that's David Lee Roth – lead singer of Van Halen...."[86]

[86] Bone, interview May 28, 2020.

Ron Bone and Paul Eisan remembered the favour-accounting required of booking agents in the system. Agents seemed to take the line of keeping everyone equally unhappy as a path to balance.

> *Ron Bone.* If – trust me, if they played the Moon – we had the same booking agents. Joan Kirby and Doug Kirby and Hazen Horsman, Nicky Quaid. Mike Shepherd.
>
> *Paul Eisan.* Hazen Horsman what a –
>
> […]
>
> *Ron Bone.* I know. Well, you should have seen him. He was a big boy. But yeah, they used to book, they would, they would book back and forth right? Scorpio Talent and Kirby Charles Organization. But you know, they, they'd be mad at Terris one week and then they'd send the band, they'd send Minglewood over to Lucifer's. And Terris'd be pissed. And then, then they'd be lovey dovey again and they'd get Minglewood back and – just back and forth. I remember – Dutchie was supposed to play Lucifer's, and Terris had already had him to a contract. And he told Dutchie, he said "If you play over there," he said "I'm going to sue you." and Dutchie said, "Oh," you know, "I gotta go where the manager tells me." He goes, "Okay, I'll sue your manager too."[87]

These unique currencies, particularly, are challenging to axiomatically define without specifically pursuing more detail on them, but from the interviews conducted, sufficient provocative evidence emerges to attest to their presence.

3.6.4 Ties among participants having some shared meaning.

[87] Bone and Eisan, interview.

Zelizer says that through history, people have solved problems of trust (related to credit, transactions, and so on) by restricting trust to those socially proximate - family and close friends.[88] As noted in the Music chapter, musicians have only a few degrees of separation in the Halifax music scene. Our region is small, tightly knit and interwoven. The people who worked in the music scene, ran venues and studios, engineered recordings, and provided gear in the Halifax music industry were geographically proximate, but also, most were friends, neighbours, bandmates, relations, rivals or possibly enemies. They had personal ties of connection. The shared geography overlaid with the common meaning of creating and performing music, making money, and building a viable music industry bound them. These ties were given meaning by the musicians' desires to remain in their home city and / or province and maintain viable careers, and by the choices of the other actors in the system to invest care, attention, and favours towards building a local music scene.

This circuit has not been a constant in the region. In the late 80s and early 90s, there was a change in relationships in the region, associated with a generational shift in music preferences and a decline in economic recompense for actors in the system. Eric McDow noted that over time, club owners got harder to convince to pay the prices he had been commanding. He attributed the increasing challenge to make money in part to the explosion of bands, and in part to the fact that faithless bands would not stand together – someone would always take what was offered, making it harder for everyone. This damaged the ties that held the circuit together.

> [...] out of that one group, you'd have three new bands, and then few other bands. So where you'd have eight bands, now you had 28 bands, and soon you had 50 bands. And

[88] Zelizer. Economic Lives. p.307

> the club owner's offer used to be $1800 for three nights [...] So as the decade wore on, it dropped down to 18 for three nights and a matinee. 'Oh, no extra for the matinee?' 'No, the, we're going to put a matinee in.' And this is just clubs in general. And not all of them. But enough of them. And then, a month or two later, they were going to cut back to 15 now. 15? And then it got down to 12. (Yeah) And then it got down to 1000.
>
> And I'm thinking - Jesus - because it's just supply and demand. There's so many bands out there. [...] So they wanted me to book their bands as a bloc, so I just say, 'well, the price is 15. If you don't want to pay the 15 then we can't play for it' – you tried to get it back up.
>
> And what happened? The club, the bartender said, "Well, I'm not paying 15," because he said, "Well, I'll just call Jimmy at home." And that's what happened. And Jimmy said, I'll take it."[89]

McDow was part of the leadership of the musicians' union for many years, so it is possible, if not likely that this analysis is informed by that experience. As to whether it is the case that there were exceptionally more bands, that is possible, although Nova Scotia had a number of popular local bands in the late 60s (Soma, the Lincolns, Pepper Tree, the Stitch in Tyme) that broke up and reformed, making other bands. It is also probably the case that there were other bars also fighting to book bands and competing for patrons. As more players entered the field, the well-defined circuit boundary became more porous. The personal bonds became harder to maintain, which eventually led to a breakdown in the circuit of commerce.

[89] McDow, interview

Zelizer explains that she arrived at the concept of circuits because the existing "conventional concepts of economic sociology, such as network, hierarchy, market, household and firm did not accurately capture the cross-cutting complexity of the social interactions I was examining." While I, not an economic sociologist, might look at the music scene in Halifax and call it a close-relationship network, I think Zelizer's characterization draws in the economic basis and social character of many of these relationships, and in many distinct and proven ways, the music industry in Halifax was a circuit of commerce.

Although the classic story about Nova Scotia is that we are a have-not province, the stories shared by narrators shows that some have a different experience of this place. And when the Misty Moon is used as an exemplar or a metonymy for a violent, hard drinking city, that characterization ignores the positive ripple effects on the culture and economy of the city and region that the bar created. The bonds that created the circuit of commerce supported a robust musical infrastructure that has been built on by musicians since.

4. Memory, Collective Memory and Identity

4.1 Memory and oral history narrators

Memory, or the capacity to store experience and then recall or retrieve it[1], is a preoccupation in disciplines ranging from psychology to history, philosophy, medicine, anthropology and beyond. It is centrally important in the study of oral history, where so much depends on establishing or accounting for the validity and reliability of memory. The study of collective memory, on the other hand, deals more with malleability of memory. In the Introduction to *Settling and Unsettling Memory*, Neatby and Hodgins write, "[A]s memory becomes a subject of inquiry, debates over its accuracy as a source become less central. More to the point, it is remembering's very *unreliability*, its manifest malleability, that serves as an opportunity for scholars to provide new and valuable insights about the formation of collective memories and the shaping of historical consciousness." [Emphasis the authors'.][2]

Wertsch, in *Voices of Collective Remembering,* examines the idea that memory has two distinct functions, one calling for an 'accuracy criterion' and the other creating a "usable past", which latter function attaches more readily to questions of identity.[3] While the two functions entwine, and I have attempted to cross-reference narrators' memories with those of other interviewees and archival sources to ascertain points of accuracy, the deeper question of what the

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[1] Alice Hoffman and Howard Hoffman, Memory Theory: Personal and Social. *Handbook of Oral History*. p 275

[2] Nicole Neatby & Peter Hodgins, Ed. (2012). "Introduction", *Settling and Unsettling Memories: Essays in Canadian Public History*. Toronto. p.4

[3] Wertsch. *Voices of Collective Remembering*. pp.31-33.

shared stories indicate about the community of people who remember the Misty Moon and how this relates to the ways Halifax is characterized are aligned with the memory function of creating a usable past.

In this chapter, I will examine the ways the memories of narrators may have been impacted by contemporaneous qualities of events (evaluating by Linton's criteria amended by Hoffman); by subsequent events, including multiple retellings of memories and collective sharing of these; and by mediation via cultural tools, in particular social media. I will further examine the connections between these memories, collective memory, history and culture to determine if an oral history of the Misty Moon might offer valid insights into the cultural identity of Halifax.

Hoffman and Hoffman offer a review in the *Handbook of Oral History* of relevant historical findings around memory. Bartlett's schemata theory was built on by Kay and Howe, who studied recall. These studies pointed to the ways memories are encoded or mediated through language, as the participants, upon being asked to recall short passages they had heard, recalled them in their own versions, and subsequently continued to recall their own versions more clearly. In Kay's experiment, the participants wrote out their own version, but in both cases, the participants interacted with the narratives through recalling and recounting.[4] This engagement with the passages left a stronger impression than just hearing the passages. The indication from this for oral history is that one reason a narrator may recall a particular event strongly is that the narrator has interacted with that memory previously. Further, because social-cultural products and processes (language, storytelling, writing, even sharing emotion in the event-moment being

[4] Hoffman and Hoffman, Memory Theory, p. 277

remembered) are intrinsically involved with memory-making, memory retention, and meaning-making, these help to establish pathways to a collective memory among narrators and the wider community of those acquainted with the Misty Moon cabaret.

Neisser, in 1982, documented the memory experiments of Marigold Linton, whose three conclusions are likewise apropos for oral historians. Linton's conclusions state that an event endures in memory if: it is perceived as highly emotional at the time of occurrence; if subsequent events make the event seem a turning point, or significant; if it remains relatively unique.[5] Hoffman and Hoffman also note that long-term "archival" memory seems to exist, but add evidence that to "achieve an archival quality, it must be sufficiently unique that it is rehearsed, either consciously or unconsciously, during the week or so that follows the experience it documents."[6] As will be examined, these conclusions are borne out by the experience of the narrators recounting their experiences of the Misty Moon.

4.2 The Murder of Michael Young

Thinking of Linton's criteria for enduring memory, the entangled stories of the murder of Michael Young and the night the Doobie Brothers took the stage at the Misty Moon offer opportunities to investigate how these fundamental principles apply. The murder seemed to loom large over the process of interviewing, yet upon reviewing the transcripts, it emerged that only five narrators spoke of the incident. I collected accounts from Paul Eisan and Ron Bone, who together recount being eyewitnesses; Sam Moon, who was playing and whose guitar player was the first to discover the crime in progress; Allie Fineberg, who was working as a waitress that

[5] Hoffman, Memory Theory. p. 278

[6] Ibid, p 281.

night; and Eric McDow, who was at the Misty Moon, and at the time was a bandmate of Paul Eisan's. The barebones facts of the case are as follows: Michael Basil Young was stabbed in the men's room of the Gottingen Street location, early in the morning hours of December 22, 1979, just a few days before Christmas. Two men were later charged with the murder of 22-year-old Young: Harry Crann, 19 and Michael Graham, 18. Michael Graham was convicted of second-degree murder, having already been convicted of assault and possession of narcotics.[7] At 18, he would have been in the club illegally, being underage.

> *Paul Eisan.* There was -- remember the time, the night on Gottingen Street. This was the Gottingen Street Misty Moon. I was by the door with Ronnie, Ronnie was running the door. And this guy comes out of the bathroom and says, "you better get in the bathroom." He says, "There's something going on in there." So Ronnie and I go in the bathroom. Here's this guy on the floor. And this other guy. I freaked.
>
> *Ron Bone.* Big knife hole in him.
>
> *Paul Eisan.* I froze against the wall, so Ronnie goes in, grabs the guy, starts yellin' and I'm just freakin, so, I was against the wall just a total mess, and the cops come in and grab me, and, [I] said "I didn't do anything!" That was bizarre.
>
> *Ron Bone.* "I'm innocent!" Long story short, he's buried just over there. He's buried down in, in - off Musquodoboit Harbour.
>
> *Paul Eisan.* God, that was an awful night.

[7] I learned more about Michael Graham's history in news coverage of his more recent legal transgressions, as this CBC News story: "Convicted Murderer Admits Robbing Teller at Bayview Credit Union | CBC News." Accessed Oct 9, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/bayview-teller-robbery-charge-1.4053442.

Charlene Boyce. So that was the - that was the - murder that happened at the Misty Moon.

Paul Eisan. Yeah. To walk in the bathroom. And I couldn't believe it. I freaked out.

Ron Bone. Yeah. Jimmy Amason come over and told us.[8]

It is notable that Ron Bone, who shared some of the most colourful stories with the flair of a natural storyteller, says so little in this recounting, cutting off detail with, "long story short, he's buried…". He notes later in the interview that he was called to testify as a witness at the trial and was paid $3 a day for doing so. In recounting the Doobie Brothers story, although he was by his own admission "loaded" that night, he shares details and extends the telling of that night's story into then going to the Doobie's concert. Paul Eisan's telling of the story conveys the overriding impression of shock, and this was likely experienced by both men, so this may explain Bone's parsimonious description. Bone's job necessarily put him in violent situations, and he shared some of these in his interviews, again with vivid descriptions and entertaining details. However, it is possible and likely that neither man had witnessed a violent death before this.

Bone's account notes that Jimmy Amason told them. Amason was Sam Moon's guitarist. Sam Moon also shared this story, beginning with describing an Alaskan tour where Amason joined the band, which I have omitted in the main, but the end of the story makes clear why this detail matters:

Sam Moon. That's right. I didn't want to bring it up. But coincidentally, I was playing that night. […] And anyway, we, we asked the guitar player after he finished a stint with us

[8] Ron Bone and Paul Eisan, in interview by the author. East Petpeswick, Nova Scotia. August 2, 2020.

> up there [in Alaska] whether he wanted to come back East with us, just, just, you know, we're young, and, and he said sure. And he came back and he was playing guitar that night at the Moon. And he happened to wander into the bathroom when the, when the crime was going on.
>
> *Charlene Boyce.* Oh lord.
>
> *Sam Moon.* Yes. And he came out and alerted the police. And anyway the whole thing went down. He became a witness. And unfortunately we didn't do his proper paperwork for a work visa. So on, so he had to leave... because, only because he was willing to testify and, and do, you know, do his duty, sort of thing. And you know, that guitar player, he ended up, he went back a while to California and he ended up playing with Belinda Carlisle.[9]

Sharing a secondhand account instead of being an eyewitness himself, Moon recalls the event in the context of the way it affected the fate of his band. Like Bone, Sam Moon is a consummate storyteller, although his method of telling differs.

Allie Fineberg was a server the evening of the murder, and she recalls it was so busy, she didn't know until later that anything had happened. This speaks to the popularity of the bar. Her account centres on her reaction to the horrific scene she encountered.

> *Charlene Boyce.* Okay, So you mentioned you were working the night that the stabbing happened.

[9] Sam Moon, interview with the author, by telephone, Halifax, Nova Scotia. February 11, 2021.

Allie Fineberg. Yeah, but you know something. That place was so packed. We didn't even know there was a stabbing. The police were in and out, the ambulance guys were in and out. And truthfully, I didn't know anything had happened until the end of the night, and that's when one of the other girls says, oh my god just check out the guys' bathroom, it's disgusting. So you know you'd go in there but you wouldn't go in there far because you literally needed rubber boots to go in there far. Oh, no, it was gross. I mean, it was easily like an inch and a half -- like and the bathroom was half the size of the store. So let's say this section. So you can imagine -- it was gross.

Charlene Boyce. Yeah. Yech. Yeah, men's bathrooms in bars -- bad at the best of times.

Allie Fineberg. Yeah, at the best of times. But that's where -- I guess he'd gotten stabbed. But I mean, like I said, it was so busy that night that we -- working -- didn't even know.[10]

Eric McDow recalled the event as well, again with a different spin. The narrators each recall the story in the context of their own personal intersection with it. McDow was a bystander -- it is evident he did not see the scene. It's unclear if Eisan, his bandmate, discussed the scene he had walked in on with McDow that night. What McDow recalls is the idea that he was stuck at the bar. He had to teach the next day.

Eric McDow. So we played Gottingen Street. What do I remember about it? There was a murder there one night, you, anybody tell you about that? Sam Moon was playing that room.

Charlene Boyce. He was, he told me!

[10] Allie Fineberg, interview with the author, Halifax, Nova Scotia. June 13, 2020.

> *Eric McDow.* Paul Eisan, the bass player, walked into the bathroom. Know about that? When the police came, no one was allowed to leave, till about I think six or so in the morning. Oh my god, everybody was stuck. Now you weren't allowed to, you weren't, it doesn't matter if you're a doctor, you're performing surgery -- call and get somebody else. You weren't allowed to leave.[11] Doesn't matter. You could not leave the club, you had brain surgery at two in the morning? Well, you're going to be dead because you're not getting out of this place. You're not allowed to leave. It was a murder -- the guy. He was a cook - or, dishwasher - cook, I guess he was, at the Citadel Inn.[12] So I remember. I was teaching. I think I was teaching at Ellenvale.[13]

Linton's first condition of memories that endure is that they are of a highly emotional event. Ron Bone and Paul Eisan's memories speak of shock. Although Eisan struggles elsewhere in his interview to recall names or specifics, he has no hesitation in remembering his reaction to walking in on the murder scene -- he "freaked" and "froze". Likewise, Allie Fineberg remembers with dismay that she didn't even know the event had happened but retains her revulsion upon seeing the blood-soaked bathroom floor. Sam Moon and Eric McDow are less emotionally invested, not being eyewitnesses. Their accounts convey both the gravity and thrill of being

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[11] From an online forum: "I have to say I have played some great biker bars and events over the years and some of the worse stuff has come at posher joints. I was working as a reporter the night a guy got his throat cut ear to ear in the men's room at the Misty Moon in Halifax. I only just got out before the police locked the crowd inside." Posted September, 2010 by user name Patrick, identified as "DFO Veteran, 68". https://www.drumforum.org/threads/worst-bar-you-ever-played-in.38561/page-2

[12] Another narrator in informal conversation said that Michael Young was a server at a hotel. His obituary noted he worked at an electronics store in Dartmouth. It is possible he worked downtown part time.

[13] McDow, interview.

present for such a dramatic event. For Sam Moon, who speaks fluidly and movingly when recalling happy or funny stories but conveys the actual murder with a brevity similar to Ron Bone's, the emotion is the regret and admiration associated with losing his guitarist because Amason chose to do "his duty" and testify, even though it meant he got deported. Moon ends his retelling, as he is wont to do, on a positive note:

> And you know, that guitar player, he ended up, he went back a while to California and he ended up playing with Belinda Carlisle, for quite a while and to this day, and I keep in touch with him, he's guitar tech for Stephen Stills for eight or nine years now. All he does is tune Stephen Stills, looks after his guitars on World Tours, he doesn't play, but he's, he's a tech. So I'll never forget that night, you know, but that was, that was an odd night.[14]

The second condition is that subsequent events point to that event as a turning point. This is certainly true, insofar as there was an arrest and trial that followed, and ultimately the Misty Moon changed locations later that year, a decision that was surely influenced by, if not explicitly because of, this event. This is also possibly a personal, emotional turning point, particularly for Bone and Eisan, since it is possible (and likely) that neither of the young men had seen someone die in front of them before that time. For Sam Moon, it meant losing the guitarist in his band. It does not seem to be a key turning point for Eric McDow, although like Bone and Eisan, it is likely this was the closest he had come to such a violent death.

Of all the narrators, Eric McDow is the one who describes the greatest reliance on reference to documentation, albeit not in connection to this story. A natural archivist and businessman as well as a teacher, with a history degree, McDow kept contracts, calendars, and

[14] Moon, interview.

other records: cultural tools that extend memory.[15] While it is unlikely he kept notes about the murder, as his documentation was primarily business-related, as an educator and historian, he probably took mental note of the details. Which leads to Linton's final criteria, amended with the evidence of Hoffman, that an event be sufficiently unique, and thus 'rehearsed'-- which may take the form of retelling, replaying or recalling -- during the week or so following the event. During the social season of Christmas, as the various narrators continued to work and news of the murder spread, the probability that the story was told and retold is high.

Only five of the narrators recalled the murder, and yet I still classify it as one of the two defining stories of the Moon, because it is hearkened back to in media (as noted in the introductory quote at the opening of this thesis). In fact, it is arguably more remembered in that public sphere than the other defining story, the Doobie Brothers. It is perhaps not surprising that news media prefer a salacious crime story to a good news, serendipitous brush-with-fame story. More to the point, the narrative that Halifax is a "hard-drinking town" comes with 'sideboards' - an additional set of connotations including crime and violence, which are often ascribed to night-time economy activity.[16] A murder at a popular high-profile club presents a morality tale to be stoked when a moral panic around bars and drinking resurfaces. This property of homicidal violence becomes a transitive property: if the Misty Moon experienced a murder, and the Misty Moon is a cabaret, then cabarets experience murders. In 2012, following another downtown

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[15] Wertsch, Voices of Collective Remembering.

[16] It seems like there is more written within the domain of criminology around the nighttime economy than any other discipline, including business. Examples include *Capturing violence in the nighttime economy: A review of established and emerging methodologies* (2019) by Philpott et al; Tomsen, and Payne's 2016 *Homicide and the nighttime economy.* Even business articles like Peters (2016) The Nighttime Economy indicate a preoccupation with safety and security.

murder at a bar (itself a cabaret, following on the last point), hours of operation were brought into question, by patrons like Ben Nichols, quoted in an article from CBC[17] and the police chief himself, who said, about the city's then-existing cabarets, "We can take those four establishments that are open until 3:30 and put them back until two o'clock. Then at least we'll have that much less crime, personal crime, downtown."[18] While violent crime statistics are not provided from Stats Canada by time of day, statistics posted by the US Department of Justice shows violent crimes including murder peak at 9 pm.[19]

Bill Hollis notes in his

Compare the murder story to the Doobie Brothers story, shared by more narrators, and which both Sam Moon and Ron Bone leaned into recounting with far more relish. These narrators are invested in a memory of the Misty Moon as a unique place that offered them access to celebrity, money, and companionship. The staff felt like a family. The Doobie Brothers story is the pinnacle of this positive vision of the Misty Moon. Narrators recalling it express feelings of wonder, delight, excitement and gratitude; it was a turning point in that it coincided with the change in locations; it was definitely a unique experience and Sam Moon's account of the incident actually concludes with him retelling the story the next day. All the conditions of

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[17] "Police Chief Wants to See Halifax Bars Close at 2 a.M." . Accessed October 14, 2021. https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/police-chief-wants-to-see-halifax-bars-close-at-2-a-m-1.1085967.

[18] "Solutions Sought After Deadly Year for Halifax Bars." . Accessed September 30, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/solutions-sought-after-deadly-year-for-halifax-bars-1.1138823.

[19] OJJDP. "Comparing Offending by Adults & Juveniles." Accessed October 18, 2021. https://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/offenders/qa03401.asp.

enduring memory are present. Importantly, this incident provides the kind of story that can be shared with many audiences, and it aligns with the preferred sentiment of the collective memory of the Misty Moon staff.

4.3 Conditions of Recall

In *Analyzing Narrative Reality*, Gubrium and Holstein[20] describe considerations for undertaking narrative research. For this work, activation, linkage and jobs, all proved relevant to the narrators' memories. The question of activation, that is, what activates the storytelling and how that affects the story told, is at the centre of structuring the oral history interviews. The framing as an interview specifically about the Misty Moon directs the narrators' thoughts to a certain path. The idea of "linkages" is related, as the framing allowed the narrators to explore concepts like music and money that linked to the Misty Moon in their memories.

Gubrium and Holstein discuss conversation analysis theories[21], which contend that narrative emerges in turn-taking discussion. The interviews with Ron Bone each had another participant, both good friends of Bone's. These interviews to some extent demonstrate the turn-taking framework of conversation beyond the regular structure of an interview. However, Bone is an assertive speaker and storyteller, and tended to dominate the conversations. In the interview he shared with Gay Kennedy, he spoke 79% of the time, Kennedy spoke 16% of the time and I spoke 5% of the time. In the interview with Paul Eisan, Bone spoke 61%, Eisan 27% and I spoke

[20] Jaber F. Gubrium. *Analyzing Narrative Reality*. Edited by James A. Holstein. (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE), 2009

[21] Ibid. p.43

12% of the time. In fairness to Bone, Eisan's failing memory and Kennedy's COPD affected their abilities to speak at length.

In these interviews, the two interviewees often sparked memories in each other's narratives, as in this exchange:

> *Ron Bone:* So here, Terris's mad at me because I took the night off to get married. I know it's like, geez, seriously Terris, I'm getting married. He goes, "Yeah, you should have planned it better." I said, "Well, you didn't tell me who was playing." It's a Saturday night. What do you want me to do?
>
> *Gay Kennedy:* My mom was living in Toronto then. She called me and I'm on the phone with her in Toronto. All of a sudden the operator comes in and says, emergency call for me.
>
> *Ron Bone.* Was it Terris?
>
> *Gay Kennedy:* It was Louis. "We need you to come in."
>
> *Ron Bone.* Yeah. "Are you crazy?"
>
> *Gay Kennedy:* Fuckin' seriously!? An emergency? Not smart. Right?
>
> *Ron Bone.* That's not an emergency, Louis. Yeah, but Louis knew somebody at MT&T.[22]

Or they team-told a story, in tandem, as in this story. The narrators quite literally finish each other's sentences, vying for "what was really funny was" punch lines, seeming to delight in

[22] Ron Bone and Gay Kennedy, in interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, May 28, 2020.

each new layer of ridiculous detail in the story, in spite of the fact that they have clearly told the story (more than once) before.

Paul Eisan. Then I played in a band called Chalice. The funny thing about Chalice was it was all mostly original material. And here's the funny thing, quote-- “it wasn't going over really well.” So Paul says, "I got an idea!" He says, "We'll put a thing in, we'll call it the Crabs."

Ron Bone. That was at the Atlantic Folk Festival, you guys came up with the idea and then it flew the banner across the sky.

Paul Eisan. The big banner with -- the airplane.

Ron Bone. "Catch the Crabs at the Misty Moon!" [both laughing, knee slap]

Paul Eisan. Listen, we gave out these buttons at the- "catch The Crabs." When you came in --

Ron Bone. --at the Moon--

Paul Eisan. When you're leaving you had, "I caught the Crabs"

Ron Bone. "I caught The Crabs at the Moon."

Paul Eisan. But the funny thing about it was -

Ron Bone. Terris didn't know anything about it.

Paul Eisan. No! We-- Here's what was so bad about it. We went into the dressing room -- Chalice -- you know, yeah. And we put foam

Ron Bone. put, what, you put those white, those white ski-masks on --

Paul Eisan. No, no, the shaving, yeah, of shaving cream, foam, all over our heads. And then went out the, we went out the dressing room window. There was a balcony, the old Moon on Gottingen Street, came in the window of the, of the club. So we're in there. The

other thing was Frank McKay was with us. So here was the premise. The premise was that we were from another planet

Ron Bone. Grabonya

Paul Eisan. and we grabbed Frank McKay on the way, from a different place. So we had Frank, he was our prisoner. We had him dressed in a little, you know, the old striped suits like they had in a prison. Yeah, with a little hat on. We're all foamed up and Frank's leading us up in front, he's given'er so we had -- we didn't have hardly any rehearsal. So we're forgetting parts all over the place. All I can remember is Frank turn around and say "The bridge, boys! The bridge!"

Ron Bone. But the funny part was, is, when, as soon as the lights hit, that foam started to melt.

*Paul Eisan.*Yeah, and it was the menthol stuff.

Ron Bone. Yeah, it was all in their eyes.

Paul Eisan. It was just beyond.[23]

The propulsion and rhythm of the back-and-forth exchange carries the story forward and Eisan experiences no problem remembering details.

In an oral history interview, the interviewer opens with a framing question that opens the floor for the speaker to take control of the space to share a narrative. The interviews I conducted usually opened with “tell me a bit about yourself” or “tell me about your connection to the Misty Moon.” They were already briefed on the subject of the thesis, and some had questions answered prior to the interview about what kinds of memories were suitable or desirable. While the intention that any memory was welcome was expressed, it is conceivable that asking these

[23] Bone and Eisan, interview.

questions, without specifically framing the violence known to be associated with nightclubs as an aspect to be explored, might have influenced the recall of the narrators and affected the types of stories that were shared.

These framing questions provided a clear space for most of the narrators. Eric McDow, whose interview lasted three hours, several times noted that he wasn't sure he had anything interesting or useful to say, and suggested I speak with Stephen Marsh, who has done extensive research on music history in Halifax. McDow's downplaying of the interesting life of a musician is a marked contrast to the descriptions of the other narrators, and even parts of his own: "Do musicians have stories that are like this, it just sort of, it's like if you're going to work in a factory, and it's the same day after day after day. What special stories do you have? Well, none." And later in the interview, he says, "It's all pretty mundane, right? I mean, that's why I'm wondering, you talk to the bands, what would they know, they went there for seven nights, they played." He came back several times to reorient himself on memories from each location, studiously searching his memory for further details.

Linkage in the midst of narrative can lead to unexpected memories emerging, and both McDow and Kennedy noted surprise at a memory that surfaced during the telling. In a digression story about a piece of medical equipment stolen from someone's car, McDow suddenly exclaimed, "And they, they -- I didn't know his name and it just came to me like that (snap). Yeah, I know his name now, Sheldon. And I just... funny. I mean, you're telling the story. Somehow. The other stuff you're talking about moves aside…"

In Kennedy's case, in a personal exchange on Facebook Messenger, Kennedy expressed frustration that she couldn't pinpoint a date for George Thorogood but noted that during the time

she worked at the Misty Moon, dates weren't something to which she paid attention. However, she remembered the season, through association with a seemingly random detail.

> *Gay Kennedy.* Gotta say dates aren't easy though. Lol. It was a life in which you didn't know what month it was half the time
>
> Charlene Boyce. Narrowing it down to a season is huge! Lol
>
> *Gay Kennedy.* Pretty much! But I remember Ann wearing a light blue tank top. [24]

The framework of inviting narrators to tell stories about the Misty Moon specifically affected the content of the interviews, just as the sampling of narrators framed the results. Each narrator interpreted a specific idea of what "Misty Moon memories" might entail, some generalizing to share many incidents from their lives at the time they were associated with the Misty Moon, and others searching their memory for specific anecdotes related directly to the building or owners, or things that happened at the club. These interpretations reflect their perceptions of the bar and their own role with regard to it, plus to what extent they were part of a community that shared a collective memory of the Misty Moon.

Jobs is the other of Gubrium and Holstein's considerations[25] that requires special scrutiny. Most of the narrators could be categorized as bar staff, musicians or "professionals", with the latter category comprising Bill Hollis, the police sergeant I interviewed, and Geoff Palmeter, who owned the Misty Moon. The bar staff who worked at Gottingen and Kempt Road locations exhibited very soft boundaries between the personal and the professional. When they described being young and working at the Misty Moon, their personal life seemed inextricably

[24] Gay Kennedy, in personal communication with the author.

[25] Gubrium, Analyzing Narrative. pp.161-172.

entwined around the Misty Moon. Ron Bone describes going in on his night off and after his wedding, Gay Kennedy talks about shopping with her co-worker and getting bargains because Terris knew the owner of the shop. The bar staff went to concerts together. They did not have a conception of themselves filtered through the lens of a professional career or calling.

Allie Fineberg draws a distinction between who she is now, and who she was, in career terms. She has been the owner of several successful businesses since about 1986. But when she describes herself in the years she worked at the Misty Moon, she says: "You know, I- I don't make the best employee. Well, I do in a lot of ways in the sense that, you know, I'm very, very conscious about my job and when I see that something's done wrong I vocalize it. And obviously when you're in a management position or an owner position, you don't want some slug telling you what to do. You know, and I was that slug."[26] Bar staff who worked at the Barrington Street location were more likely to describe their work as a job and describe specific job-related tasks more so than personal life or activities.

Musicians remember the Misty Moon fondly, as an important venue, but as one of many venues that they played. It may be the club that treated them best, as with McDow, or it may hold significant memories, as it does for Sam Moon. But as McDow points out, their memories are for the most part related to their own role, which was centred around time spent on stage. Scott Rogers described going to the Misty Moon as a patron as well. Paul Eisan's relationship with Ron Bone produces memories that are less related to musical performance and more related to friendship and shenanigans, although this would be influenced by Bone's presence and interaction during the interview. With Eisan's compromised memory, the reliance on Bone would guide the conversation into mutual memories more so than performance memories.

[26] Allie Fineberg, interview with the author, Halifax, Nova Scotia. June 13, 2020.

Ron Bone's role as a bouncer was foundational in several of his stories, including removing the lesbian couple from the bar. However, the casual violence that might be expected to accompany stories of drinking, substance use, and crowded bars did not emerge as a dominant theme among interviewees. This likely relates to the set of narrators I interviewed. Given a larger set of patrons among the interviewees, a different image of violence at the Misty Moon may have emerged.

Bill Hollis was a narrator suggested by a mutual friend when I expressed a wish to interview someone who had served in the police force at that time. Unfortunately, Hollis' role did not bring him into contact with the Misty Moon very often, and he was unable to respond to my specific questions. However, Hollis shared that he had a good working relationship with the Panagiotakos family, and that the Marathon Grill, which was downstairs from the first location of the Misty Moon and also owned by the Panagiotakos family, was the meeting point for two North End beats at the time:

> *Bill Hollis.* No. Like, I never, I never had a problem with any of them. Owners and management at the Misty Moon right.
>
> Charlene Boyce: Yeah? I've heard good things about them.
>
> *Bill Hollis.* Yes. Anytime you talk to Terris, Andy or Peter, right. They're always very cordial. And of course, when the Marathon Grill was there, right, downstairs. That was two beats. Met right there, at Cunard and Gottingen. So you know, you were in there, waiting to eat or coffee or whatever. The guy on the other beat was too, because that's where they joined. Right. So I knew them, ever since I've been, basically, in Halifax. [27]

[27] Bill Hollis, in interview with the author, by telephone. Halifax Nova Scotia, August 20, 2020.

Hollis shared insights related to violence downtown, and his manner of describing incidents is informed by his role. “I ended up locking up some of the bouncers. That's happened a few times. Some were a little aggressive, right? But the bouncer's problem was inside. Our problem was outside. So if they tried to intervene outside, they usually ended up going with whoever we were taking.”

He was present for the 1991 “race riot” and described that.

> I was the NCO in charge of Spryfield and Rockingham. And you could hear over the radio things were getting heated up, heated up, right? So the watch commander at the time called myself, and a couple of the guys in from Spryfield. All of a sudden the crowd started, right? And they just took Gottingen Street down. Anything they come up against got flattened, right? Until they get to the bars. Actually at one bar there was a couple of policemen working extra duty. They never never bothered them. They never bothered them, the two policemen that were there. They were looking for the bouncers. Because the bouncers wouldn't let them in, right? And yeah, they walked right by two policemen. And then of course, complaints started coming in and everything ended up on Gottingen Street. And we ended up facing maybe 300 people on Gottingen Street, [unintelligible] dispersed and that was it.[28]

Both of these memories refer to violence enacted by bouncers, which relates with the “hard-drinking city” characterization of Halifax. Bouncer violence is a phenomenon that is well explored by George Rigakos, and other criminologists, as well as in a recent thesis by Cameron Emond.[29] It emerged in some of the anecdotes shared by Ron Bone, in his role. The other door

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Emond. "The Stairway of Doom”; Rigakos, George. *Nightclub: Bouncers, Risk, and the Spectacle”*

person I interviewed, Wendy Brookhouse, did not relate any violent stories. Although Hollis was plainclothes for much of his career, the fact that the Misty Moon did not stand out in Hollis' memory as being a regular site of trouble might indicate that some of the descriptions of violence associated with the bar were based on isolated or at least less frequent incidents.

4.4 Collective memory

My goal is to explore how narrators' individual experiences and memories merge to construct a collective memory, which then contributes to a narrative about Halifax. Memory, even collective memory, is not history, though the specific line of demarcation in the liminal space between the concepts is contested. History implies a digestion has occurred, events have been considered, arranged, seen from other perspectives. Novick says, "To understand something historically is to be aware of its complexity, to have sufficient detachment to see it from multiple perspectives, to accept the ambiguities, including moral ambiguities…" In opposition to this, "Collective memory simplifies […] reduces events to mythic archetypes."[30] In the chapter titled "History, Collective Memories, or National Memories? How the Representation of the Past is Framed by Master Narratives" in the *Handbook of Culture and Memory,* Carretero and Van Alphen write that, "Remembering, individually or collectively, is at the same time forgetting," and it is the business of historians to "investigate what memory leaves out."[31]

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[30] Peter Novick. *The Holocaust in American Life*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin), 1999.pp.3-4

[31] Mario Carretero & Floor Van Alphen. "History, Collective Memories, or National Memories? How the Representation of the Past Is Framed by Master Narratives." *The Handbook of Culture and Memory.* Ed. Brady Wagoner. (Oxford University Press), 2018. pp. 285

Carretero and Van Alphen say, "national history is also a kind of collective memory"[32] and it is at this scale that collective memory is often discussed. Public history can be a product of collective memory, or (often) an attempt to ingrain a particular master narrative into the collective memory. Much of the literature around collective memory is exemplified through this type of country-wide narrative, as in Wertsch's *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Soviet Russian history), the selections in Neatby and Hodgins' *Settling and Unsettling Memories* (Canadian history), or examples in the *Handbook of Culture and Memory* (the Nixon years and Mexican history among others). Halbwachs' original work describes collective memory in terms of all groups to which an individual might belong - in his conception, these overlapping, entwined bubbles of collective memory, once considered and edited, form the texture of history.

Consider the case of the staff of the Misty Moon. This discrete group has a set of memories which distinguishes it from other groups. Each individual will remember events from their own point of view, but also will know and "remember" each others' accounts, internalizing them into a unified presentation of events, such as the case with the Doobie Brothers' show, where the basic facts are referred to, with minimal individual differences.

Novick, in detailing his theory about the division between collective memory and history, says, "Typically a collective memory, at least a significant collective memory, is understood to express some eternal or essential truth about the group -- usually tragic. Memory, once established, comes to definite that eternal truth, and, along with it, an eternal identity for the members of the group."[33] His phrase "usually tragic" points back to the nationalistic ways that

[32] Ibid.p.286

[33] Novick, Holocaust. p.4

collective memory is often used: in times of war, revolution, government oppression of its people.

The narrators share dark memories, of course, particularly Ron Bone, who recounts several violent incidents, and spending six months in prison after he and a coworker seriously injured a pair of unruly patrons. The 1979 stabbing is a central memory attached to the Misty Moon, one of the "fixed points" of cultural memory that Assman describes.[34] However, among the narrators interviewed, the predominant tone of Misty Moon memories is not "tragic." Instead, it is for the most part nostalgic, wistful, comic and joyful.

Rossolatos[35] talks about the circularity of a collective identity forming from the product of collective memories and collective memories springing from collective identity, or, put another way, both collective memories and identity being a product of social interaction, cohesion and shared experiences in a group. In some parts of his article, he uses collective identity and collective memory almost interchangeably.

The overall impression from the bulk of the memories shared is one of youthful, heedless, carefree fun, great music, brushes with fame, and excessive consumption. Based on the stories of the narrators, these could be characteristics of the collective identity of the group based around the Misty Moon, at least pre-late eighties. Keeping in mind Novick's warning that collective memory simplifies, and Carretero and Van Alphen's advice to "investigate what memory leaves out," it is notable that this set of interviews does not include more "dark memories." For instance, there were no stories about sexual assaults (although the romantic attentions described

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[34] Assman, Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. p.129

[35] George Rossolatos. "Servicing a heavy metal fandom posthumously: a sociosemiotic account of collective identity formation in Dio's memorial", *Social Semiotics*, 25:5, 2015. p.636

by some servers verge into sexual harassment territory). Overall, the sunny disposition and nostalgic tone of the memories may reflect the narrators' age, life stage, or a preference in the performance of memory to elicit laughter.

Rossolatos states, "Insofar as a social actor's personal identity is largely conditioned and shaped by the various social groups to which s/he belongs, the meaning that is assigned to events, artifacts and processes is always already mediated by a collective identity."[36] Eric McDow, for instance, belongs to many groups constituting aspects of his identity and each representing a collective identity: Beatles fans, drummers, union members, band members and the extended Misty Moon community. Each of these collective identities would be formed around a unique collective memory that may comprise overlapping individual memories that attain different dimensions of meaning according to the group. For instance, the more formal and structured identity of the musicians' union would impose different sensemaking priorities and implicit meaning on McDow's memories of booking bands than the less cohesive, loosely connected Misty Moon group would apply.

Halbwachs claims, "When it considers its own past, the group feels strongly that it has remained the same and becomes conscious of its identity through time." [37] Throughout the narratives, the interviewees used phrases like "not knowing what they were part of," or that they "got away with stuff" during the times discussed, or that those times "will never come again." This looking back with nostalgia and wistfulness, as each individual acknowledged that they as an individual had changed in circumstances if nothing else, is a collective becoming conscious of

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[36] Rossolatos. Servicing a heavy metal. p.636

[37] Maurice Halbwachs. "The Collective Memory". *The collective memory reader.* (New York : Oxford University Press. Ed, Olick, Jeffrey K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, Vered, and Levy, Daniel), 2011. p.146

its identity. The collective has remained the same - they are acknowledged to be a cohort of companions who shared the experience of working at the Misty Moon at that fixed point in their mutual history.

Further back in time, closer to the time period remembered, cliques or groups divided by role or by locations worked at, might have made it seem they were multiple groups. Allie Fineberg said, “it pretty much was [...] there was just a crew of us who basically just were there forever and ever and ever. Yeah. You know, like, Gay and Ron and me and Leslie, you know, a couple of the rest of us that are still kicking around here. Yeah. You know, and, and Geoff came in later, you know, because he was part of the new crew, actually.” The use of the phrase “new crew” makes clear a division that may have been in practice at the time but has since ceased to have significance.

But the perspective of time helped them “become conscious of their identity,” as a unique group of Misty Moon employees. When the Misty Moon reunion was held in 2016, employees from all three locations were invited and welcomed, and stories were exchanged, reinforced and shared, further building the collective memory out and enforcing a collective identity as a unique whole.

“Every collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time,” says Halbwachs.[38] While the staff and owners form the nucleus of the group of people who remember the Misty Moon, there is a larger, wide group that includes the musicians who played there and the patrons who frequented the bar. This group shares a set of memories, which together construct a collective memory of the Misty Moon. It is often the case that the closure of

[38] Ibid. p.145

a club would signal an end to the loose network of relationships among staff and patrons. Many of the narrators' relationships survived this dispersal. Despite the number of bars that existed in Halifax over the years, only a few are still mentioned with regularity. Fewer of these have an online community associated[39], and the Misty Moon may be the only Halifax bar to have had a publicized reunion.

Wertsch cites Novick (1999) doubting whether "inorganic societies" like ours, that are fragmented and connected electronically rather than face-to-face, would still develop collective memories in his strictest definition. That was written before the advent of social media. In spite of its myriad shortcomings, social media has provided a method of re-connecting or maintaining connections that does not require the same level of deliberate effort as face-to-face connection, and yet provides the space and cultural tools to cultivate collective memory: photo sharing, textual posting of memories, linking others. Halifax has Facebook pages and/or groups for Friends of the Misty Moon; History of Maritime Bands; All-Time List of Halifax Bars; Gottingen St. Neighbourhood 1940-2021; Friends of the Crazy Horse Cabaret, Dartmouth Nova Scotia; and Barstools and Bandtalk. Arguably each of these Facebook sites is built around a collective memory, and to the nucleus group, more people join and add their own memories. These pages become sites of collective commemoration; a concept often linked with collective memory.

4.4 Collective Commemoration

[39] There is a Facebook group called the All-Time List of Bars in Halifax, NS and that serves as a memory-collection spot for people to recall other notable clubs and bars in Halifax such as Gingers, the Derby and the Graduate as well as shorter-lived and lesser-known places like The Up Here Bar and The Top Hat.

Some recent scholarship is examining collective memory in a context and framework of smaller communities and fandoms, for example Anu Harju's 2015 article, "Socially Shared Mourning: construction and consumption of collective memory"[40] or George Rossolatos' 2015 article, "Servicing a heavy metal fandom posthumously: a sociosemiotic account of collective identity formation in Dio's memorial."[41] Harju's article explores the ways that social media is being used as a site of commemoration and is facilitating collective remembering and the collective construction of memories. Rossolatos discusses a memorial event for Ronnie James Dio and how the representations of the singer's life helped form a collective identity for his fans.

Commemorating a cabaret that is no longer in operation is not the same as commemorating the sudden loss of a beloved celebrity and the rupture to a parasocial relationship that can attend that. The longer time horizon transmutes what would be grief into nostalgia. The focus of remembering becomes not the object that is lost - the bar itself. Instead, the goal of commemoration becomes to celebrate the community/relationships that remain, and doing so by commemorating the central object, the Misty Moon, which is the core of the group's common identity. In practice, many of the same mediating tactics and tools are implemented.

Rossolatos describes the staging of Dio's memorial, as captured by video, as being like the stage performances the singer was known for. He says, "Memorial events, the process of commemoration, the artifacts and narratives that sustain the process of commemoration and the places where processes of commemoration are enacted, constitute prominent vehicles whereby

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[40] Anu Harju. "Socially shared mourning: construction and consumption of collective memory". *New Review of Hypermedia and Multimedia*, 21:1-2, 2015.

[41] Rossolatos. Servicing a heavy metal.

discrete social actors assume a collective identity."[42] If we assume a collective identity to be both the product and producer of collective memory, we can examine some of these aspects of commemoration to offer further insight into the Misty Moon's community.

Rossolatos first mentions memorial events. On August 6, 2016, the staff of the Misty Moon held a reunion at the Mic Mac Aquatic Centre. Tickets were $20 and the band Sounds of Motown played, featuring Sam Moon. Organized by a core cadre of past employees including Norma MacNeil, Ron Bone and Gay Kennedy, the reunion was promoted online on the Friends of the Misty Moon Facebook group, and members of the committee were interviewed on News 95.7. The organizers said they were tired of only seeing each other at funerals. The reunion sold out, and the Mic Mac AC was jampacked with dancing, drinking, sweaty past Moon employees and loud classic rock and roll. Ages were varied, and the mostly white crowd also had a number of African-Nova Scotian faces, on stage and in the crowd. The first question every new face was asked was "which one did you work at?"[43]

The nature of this event - a live music-focused drinking event - reflected the nature of the Misty Moon. Wertsch shares Tulvings' "encoding specificity principle" around the conditions in which a memory is encoded facilitating its recall if they are replicated during the decoding.[44] Surrounded by loud music, dancing crowds and the taste and smell (and effects) of liquor, as well as familiar faces, memories flowed in a celebration of shared experiences. Photos were

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[42] Rossolatos. Servicing a heavy metal. p.635.

[43] This is based on my personal experience - a friend and I purchased tickets and attended, as patrons who internalized the identity of "Moon girls" or as narrator Missy Searl termed it, "rock chicks". It was through this experience that the first inklings of this thesis emerged, and I connected with Ron Bone, who would be one of my first narrators.

[44] Wertsch, Voices of Collective Remembering. p.36

shared, to provoke further memories, in the way that photo albums are displayed at wakes. This commemorative event served the dual purpose of reinforcing the collective identity of the whole, building out new memories. The Misty Moon's buildings may be torn down, but the Misty Moon lives on in this group of people, in the way that a university traditionally comprises the scholars within it or a church is the congregation and not merely the structure for worship.

Rossolatos also mentions "the artifacts and narratives that sustain the process of commemoration and the places where processes of commemoration are enacted."[45] The Facebook page and group, both called "Friends of the Misty Moon" are the semiotic centres of memory-sharing and meaning-making for the community gathered to them. Anu Harju, in "Socially shared mourning: construction and consumption of collective memory," says, "Social media itself can be viewed as a site of contested memory as all events and lived lives are constructed after the fact. The role of the media platform in facilitating, enabling and co-constructing the rituals and mourning practices cannot be ignored."[46]While many of the nearly 1500 people subscribed to the public page post some variation of the sentiment, "I remember so many good times at the Moon", it is also a site of specific memory-sharing, as in this post by Darren Stone: "I rember [sic] the famous crotch grab. Somewhere after she grabbed or slapped my friends face. If he sees this maybe he can remember the details a bit better than me."[47]

The site is also a space for commemorating community members. There is a shared memorial to a man who sold flowers downtown for years, "Omarrahh (Roy) Livingstone , 73,

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[45] Rossolatos, Servicing a heavy metal. p.635

[46] Harju. "Socially shared mourning.

[47] Darren Stone. "Friends of the Misty Moon". *Facebook Page.* Posted October 27, 2021. Retrieved October 27, 2021.

died Wednesday March 13th, 2019 at the VG hospital following a brief illness."[48] There are tributes to Ritchie Oakley and Mike Mosher and memories of Brian "Too Loud" MacLeod and Jeff Healey. Caring is a key attribute of this community, and a part of the collective identity that cannot be overlooked, although it is a piece that is not reflected in the characterization of Halifax as a violent, hard-drinking city, a characterization that has been regularly exemplified with a mention of the Misty Moon.

[48] Zarr Livingstone. 2019. "Friends of the Misty Moon". *Facebook Page.* Posted March 14, 2019.

5. Conclusions

The story of the Misty Moon, as remembered by the people who worked and played there, weaves into the fabric of the city's history. Threads of this story link to immigration, music and musicians, business and economy, the fate of neighbourhoods over time, the interaction of race and the night-time economy, crime and violence, queer history, and so on. It is tempting to align and ascribe the arc of the Misty Moon's history and trajectory to the baby boom generation.

The stories reflected the wide range of entertainment to take the stage at the Misty Moon, including more than 420 local and international musical acts like Minglewood, Sam Moon, the Platters, Looking Glass, George Thorogood, Bryan Adams, Sass Jordan, and the Doobie Brothers. In the early years, these acts also included drag performances, exotic dancers, and comedy acts. The diversity of entertainment was mirrored in the diversity of the patrons: men, women, old, young, African Nova Scotian customers, people with disabilities, members of the 2SLGBTQIA community, Indigenous people.[1]

Motifs weave through the narrators' stories, uniting them in unique visual representations of the ideas of close celebrity contact and abundant cash: these are of offering celebrities the "t-shirt off their back" and of shoe boxes (or garbage bags) full of money.

Two key stories reflect the main cultural "fixed points". The first was the notorious murder: in 1979, a young man was stabbed in the men's washroom. The other happened in August 1980. On

[1] Although the stories did not make it into the text of this thesis, Missy Searl described meeting Donald Marshall Jr. at Secretaries (the Barrington Street location's downstairs sister-bar), and Ron Bone recalled the hijinks of his friend Charlie Quinn who was an amputee.

the last night before the Misty Moon changed locations,'70s pop celebrities the Doobie Brothers took the stage for an impromptu set.

Music was the predominant theme I identified in the interviews, particularly around the bar's identity as the "rock club". Due to its license category as a cabaret, entertainment was intrinsic to the club, just as music was an intrinsic characteristic of the narrators' personal identities and the way the people associated with the Misty Moon recognized themselves as a collective. Rock music as an overarching genre has proven the most resiliently popular music in the city and province, as demonstrated in the continued success of radio station Q104. The brand character of this radio station – hard partying, white, masculine, with a sense of humour that might be termed "not politically correct", is aligned with the character ascribed to rock fans at large (in part due to the racialized nature of music genres). It is therefore part of the collective identity of the Misty Moon. This character is hinted at in the descriptions of Halifax as a hard-drinking city.

Many of the regular bands and music acts that played at the Misty Moon were Canadian acts who benefited from policy changes nationally that promoted Canadian music on radio. Although books like *Canuck Rock* and *Have Not Been the Same* have documented Canadians having a history of disdain for Canadian music, that attitude of contempt was not conveyed in the narrators' interviews. In fact, local, national, and international artists were mentioned with the same level of enthusiasm from Halifax band Spice to Minglewood to Loverboy to George Thorogood. Musicians who played at the club spoke with respect, affection and appreciation of the owners and the conditions of working there. Bar staff reflected with wonder at the intimate access they had to celebrities thanks to their roles reducing social distance. To some extent, the bar staff took on a reflected measure of the glamour of celebrity.

The narrators' memories were interwoven with descriptions of the business and money associated with the Misty Moon. The bar staff describe being exceptionally well paid (mostly in tips) for most of the '70s and early to mid-'80s. This abundance was reflected in lifestyle choices around eating out, taking taxis and prolific drug use. This could be an effect of the baby boom generation, as the period the Misty Moon was in operation was also the time that the baby boomers were enjoying their youth and young adulthood.

Zelizer has written much about the social meaning of money. Her reflections on tipping as a form of gift money offered insight into the ways the narrators reacted to this income. The idea that there is a racial difference in tipping was explored and may point to a gap in Zelizer's work. Money can be an embodiment of care, and the ways the bar staff and musicians talked about money and employment at the Misty Moon describe the idea of an extended family, with Terris Panagiotakos as *pater familias*. Panagiotakos is described in terms and circumstances that call to mind the most archetypical character that intersects business and family: a mafia don.

There is a consistent character to the bar staff and musicians' memories up to the late 1980s of personal lives and work lives enmeshed and shot through with the joy de vivre of youth. With the bar changing owners, the tone of stories changed. Stories became more about the work of the bar. It is at about this time that the collective identity becomes less cohesive. The Misty Moon was a large node in the web of commerce around Halifax's music industry. To better explore that concept, I examined the bar as part of a model Zelizer proposes, a "circuit of commerce." She applies four elements to these circuits: a well-defined boundary, a distinctive set of transfers; distinctive media; and meaningful ties among participants.

Although the classic story about Nova Scotia is that we are a have-not province, the stories shared by narrators shows that some have a different experience of this place. And when

the Misty Moon is used as an exemplar or a metonymy for a violent, hard drinking city, that characterization ignores the positive ripple effects on the culture and economy of the city and region that the bar created.

Consideration about memory is essential in oral history practice. The narrators' memories of the two central stories—the murder of Michael Young and the night the Doobie Brothers played – demonstrate the conclusions of both Linton (via Neisser) and Hoffman. These two stories, occurring within eight months of each other, represent the polarities of the Misty Moon experience. The murder, the bar's lowest point, is recounted in brief, with vivid details. The night the Doobie Brothers showed up and staged an impromptu show to the delight of those present, is the pinnacle – there was a small set of people there, bonded by the shared experience. It was already a memorable night, as the bar staff prepared for a move to a shiny new location. The story featured intimacy with celebrity, a t-shirt exchange, music, gifts with value surpassing the monetary (backstage passes): all hallmarks of the collective identity forged by the group of Misty Moon community members to which I spoke.

I examined the effect the conditions of activation, linkages and jobs might have had on the narrators' stories. Framing the interviews in relation to the Misty Moon shaped the recall of the narrators, based on their own level of interaction and connection to the bar. The Facebook group and page, and the staff reunion are examples of collective commemoration and also a way of extending the life of the collective identity through semiotic collective memory sharing.

Vygotsky contends that social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships.[2] He called for psychologists to transition their inquiry

[2] Wertsch, James V. 1985. *Vygotsky and the Social Formation of Mind*. Harvard University Press. (p.163)

from how social behaviour was derived from individual behaviour to the inverse: “The first problem is to show how the individual response emerges from the forms of collective life.”[3]

The individuals I spoke with responded to the unique circumstance of being associated with the Misty Moon, its musicians and (other) employees through internalizing a personal conception of themselves as a part of a wider community. As was demonstrated in the examination of the Doobie Brothers stories versus the murder, the community as a collective preferentially recalls the good times versus remembering violence or negative incidents, although several of these were recounted as well, primarily by Ron Bone, who was a doorman (and thus was more engaged in work that might lead to these stories). The “myth” of the Misty Moon held in Halifax’s collective memory might reflect a more dangerous, violent place, but this group of narrators hold a different central characterization of the bar.

Caring is a key attribute of this community, which has become a more predominant aspect over time as the cadre of staff at the core of the collective age. Whether it is Gay Kennedy, suffering the effects of COPD, organizing fundraising for ailing musician George Antoniak, Allie Fineberg grilling me for how Gay Kennedy looked when I interviewed her -- “it fucking breaks my heart”[4]-- to Ron Bone gently verbally guiding his friend Paul Eisan through memories. This care shows up in the universal affection and respect expressed for the Panagiotakos family, particularly Terris, and in the gentle ribbing Bone and Kennedy indulge in with McDow. It is shown in the heartfelt memories of Kevin MacMichael, who died of cancer in 2002.

This close-knit community aspect is overlooked when Halifax is characterized as a ‘hard-drinking city,’ ‘home of the most bars per capita’ and when the mention of murders, mayhem

[3] Ibid. pp.164-165
[4] Allie Fineberg, interview with the author. Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 13, 2020.

and the Misty Moon are used to depict the city as vice-ridden and dangerous. This characterization, which is often called forth in moments of public moral panic, is unfair both to the city and to its citizens whose collective memories identify them as part of the extended community of the Misty Moon.

Oral history's origins tie it to social history, "history from below", and this story of the Misty Moon is a social history. Rather than focussing solely on the club owners or 'important' internationally recognized musicians that played there, this work examines the lives and everyday memories of regular staff members, patrons, and several local musicians. When the Misty Moon closed, it did not mark just the end of a place of business. It marked the end of an era of live music, and a loss to the overall music community in Halifax. The buildings no longer exist, but the online extensions of the community serve as sites of commemoration to fix the memories of patrons and employees.

Appendix A: List of Bands

The following is a crowd-sourced list of 428 bands that played at the Misty Moon / New Misty Moon / Roxbury Cabaret over the years, originally collected on the Facebook page, *Friends of the Misty Moon Cabaret*. Accessed October 1, 2021. Updated February 24, 2022.

54-40
7 To The Bar
A Flock Of Seagulls
Acacia
Aitocs
Avon
Alias
Amanda Marshall
Andrew Nash
Angela
Angry Young Ducks
Antic
April Wine
Armageddon
Ash Mountain
Asia
Atlanta Rhythm Section
Avacost
Axiom
Backstreet Boys (house band not the other band)
Barney Bentall and the Legendary Hearts
Big Ethyl
Big House
Black Elvis
Black Pool
Blonde Ambition
Blue Oyster Cult
Blue Rodeo
Bob Quinn
Bonnie Raitt
Bonnie (Bramlett) Sheridan
Bootsauce
Boys Brigade
Brett Ryan
Brian Greenway
Brighton Rock
Broken Toys
Bryan Adams
Bryan Jones Band
BTO
Buddy And The Boys
Bucky Adams
Cameras In Paris
Canadian Conspiracy
Carol Pope
Catch 22
Cate Brothers
Chad Conrad and Crossroads
Chalice
Chester
Chilliwack
China Grove (Tribute to the Doobie Brothers)
Cinema V
Civilian
Clean Slate
Clearlight
Cleveland
Colin James
Commander Coady and His Lost Planet Airmen
Coney Hatch
Cool Blue Halo
Cornerstone
Counting Zero
Crash Test Dummies

Curtis Knight band
Cycle
Dan Hill
Darby Mills
David Wilcox
Dawn Patrol
Delbert McClinton
Doc Holiday
Domino
Dorian (Rock Opera)
Doug and the Slugs
Double Talk
Doucette
Downchild Blues Band
Down Memory Lane
Drama
Dread Zeppelin
Dubiel
Duck Dunn
Dutchie Mason
Edgar Winter
Electric Circus
Elvin Bishop
Enter Reality
Eric Burdon
Eric's Trip
Ettinger
Even Steven (Tribute To Elton John)
Everyday People
Exhibition
EXUUS
Eye Eye
Fanatics
Fast Forward (Halifax Version)
Fatal Attraction
Fax
Fear of Flying
Fifth Element
FM w/Nash The Slash
Follow that Car
Follow the Cat
Frank Marino and Mahogany Rush
Frank Mckay
Frank Soda
Freeze
Frozen Ghost
Full Circle
FX
Gary US Bonds
George Thorogood And The Destroyers
Girlschool
Glass Tiger
Goddo
Godzilla
Grapes of Wrath
Green River
Greg Allman
Grinder Switch
G.I.L.T
Gypsy Rose
Haff Cutt
Happy Dolls
Harbinger
Harem Scarem
Harlequin
Haywire
Headpins
Helix
High Octane Band
Highstreet
Honeymoon Suite
Hotel California (Tribute to the Eagles)
Huey Lewis And The News
I.C.U
Illusion
I Mother Earth
Ian Thomas
Inside Out
Jack Butler
Jack De Keyser
James Cotton
Jeff Healey
Jester
Jimmy Rankin

Joe Cocker
Joe Murphy
John Allan Cameron
John Hammond
John Lee
John Lee Hooker
Johnathon M
John Kay And Steppenwolf
Johnny Winter Group
Jokers Wild
Joshua
Joye
Junkhouse
Justice (John Cougar Mellancamp Tribute)
k.d. lang
Kelowna
Kenny Maclean
Kenny Shields (From Streetheart)
Kevin Head
Kidd Wicked
Killer Dwarfs
Kim Berley
Kim Mitchell
King Pleasure
Klaatu
Klick
Knucklebones
Kradle (1988-89)
Lawrence Gowan
Lee Aaron
Levon Helm
Lighthouse
Lionheart
Lisa Dalbello
Little Voice
Lloyd Sims
Long John Baldry
Looking Glass
Loverboy
Luba
Maclean and Maclean
Madhash
Mae More
Mama Kin (Aerosmith Tribute Band)
Mama's and Papa's
Mandrix
Martha and the Muffins
Mark Haines & The Zippers
Mason Chapman Band
Matt Minglewood
Maurice Raymond
Men Without Hats
Michael White Band
Michele Pagliaro
Midnight Ramblers
Mike Dimitri
Mind Over Matter
Mindset
Mirror Image
Molly Oliver
Monkeys Uncle
Mother Earth
Mothers Fear
Mozart
Muddy Waters
My Girls Band
My Machine
Naked Knees
Nash The Slash
National Velvet
Nazareth
Neo-A4
Nessel Road
Nice n Wet
Now Voyageur
O2B
Oakley
Ocean
Ocean Playground
Okamist
One to One
Our Lady Peace
Orphan
Over The Garden Wall

Ozark Mountain Daredevils
Parachute Club
Paradise City (GnR Tribute)
Paradox
Paul Eisan
Paul Janz
Paul Lawson
Payolas
Peacedog
Peppertree
Persuaders
Pinetop Perkins
Platinum Blonde
Power Circus
Powerline
Prime Time
Prophecy
Prophet
Purple Helmets
Pursuit of Happiness
Quadrant
Queen City Kids
Quickstep
Ragdoll (Tribute to Aerosmith)
Rain
Ralph Conrad and the Wranglers
Ram
Ray Lyell (and the Storm)
Razorboy
Real World
Redline
Refugee
Release
Rhiannon
Rhinegold
Rhythm Zoo
Rick Derringer Band
Rick Pinette
Rick Spyder
Rick Spyder Band
Rik Emmett
Rik Santers
Riser
Risque
Road Apples (Tribute to the Hip)
Rob Hanna
Romance at Eleven
Ronnie Hawkins
Rough Trade
Rox
Roy Buchanan
Roy Young
Runaway
Runs in the Hoses
Safety In Numbers
Saga
Sahara Jack
Sam I Am
Sam Moon
Sandbox
Saratoga
Sarjent Rokk
Sass Jordan
Savoy Brown
Secret Lives
Secret Treaties
See Spot Run
Screaming Trees
Shameless
Sharon B And The Brutal Beat
Shattered Image
Sheriff
Simon Tell
Slik Toxic
Sloven
Smith & Smith (comedy duo)
SnakeEye
Soma
Sookie and the Memories
Southside Johnnie
Spawning Grunions
Spectacle
Spice
Squeezeplay

State of Mind
Stephen Barry Band
Steps Around The House
Steve Earle
Steve Howe
Stevie Starr
Stiletto
Stray Cats
Streetheart
Strutt
Strutter (KISS cover)
Strange Advance
Subway Elvis
Sundance
Sun Machine
Susan Clarke Band
Sven Gali
Sweet Surrender
Switch
T'Pau
Taboo
Ta She
Teenage Head
Ten Seconds Over Tokyo
Terry Crawford
Terry Edmunds
Terry Hatty Band
Tequila
The Arrows
The Attitude
The Band
The Battery
The Blues Band
The Blushing Brides (Tribute to the Rolling Stones)
The Box
The Business
The Brogues
The Dinosaurs
The Dirty White Boys
The Doobie Brothers
The Drivers
The Fabulous Thunder-Birds
The Fanatics
The Gin Blossoms
The Grunions
The Hits
The Ides Of March
The Irish Descendants
The Issue
The Jitters
The Kings
The Kite
The Law
The Lonely Boys
The Mike Danckert Band
The Minglewood Band
The New Day
The Nighthawks
The Northern Pikes
The Nylons
The Original Buzzard Band
The Platters
The Powder Blues Band
The Private Collection
The Pursuit Of Happiness
The Push
The Quest
The Razorbacks
The Release
The Satallites
The Spoons (Toronto Version)
The Spoons (Halifax Version)
The Tea Party
The Terry Crawford Band
The Trees
The Usual Suspects
The Waterfront Strompers Dixie Band
The Webb
The White (Tribute to Led Zeppelin)
Thor
Three Dog Night
Titan
Tom Cocrane

Too Many Cooks
Toronto
Tower Of Power
Track band
Tragically Hip (06/04/1990)
Tram
Trax
Tres Hombres (Tribute to ZZTop)
Tribes of March
Tribute
Trooper
Tye-Dyed Conscience
Tyrant
Undercover
US
Van Wailin
Vehicle
Vicious Polyester
Walter Zwol and the Rage
Water Street Blues Band
Wayne Nicholson
Wen Bodin
White Lies
Wild T and the Spirit
Wishbone
Wonderful Grand Band
Working Class
Worrell
XSNRG
Young Guns
Young Saints
Youth In Asia
Zappacosta
Zoo

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